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TRAVANCORE  
ARCHÆOLOGICAL SERIES

Vol. III—Part. I.

STONE AND COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTIONS OF TRAVANCORE  
WITH ILLUSTRATIONS.

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## MITRĀNANDAPURAM COPPER-PLATES.

No. 1. A set of five plates of the Mitrānandapuram maṭha.

The subjoined inscriptions are engraved on a set of five copper-plates, which measure 13" by 2 $\frac{9}{10}$ " and have a ring-hole, 3/10" in diameter, bored on the left margin, half an inch inside from the edge and in the middle of the width. The plates bear writing on both sides. They have no ring. On the left margin of the obverse faces, a little above the ring hole, Tamil numerals are marked. The plates belong to a Brahmin gentleman of the *Pōtti* class residing in the **Mitr-anandapuram maṭha**: but nothing is known as regards how and when they were discovered. Pandit Srinivasa Sastri, Smṛitiviśārada, obtained them for examination a few years ago; and under his supervision, good impressions of them were taken. The plates had to be returned immediately to the owner as he was not willing to part with them for any length of time. I edit the inscriptions with the help of these impressions. Judging from them, the preservation of the record may be said to be excellent as far as the middle of the second line on plate Vb., where the first inscription ends. The remaining five lines on this plate and a small bit at the end of line 2, which go to form a fresh inscription, though relating to the same temple, are not so neatly cut as the rest. In fact, three different scripts are noticeable in this set of copper-plates. Up to line 76 the writing is uniform in shape though not always in size: from the latter part of line 76 up to *Kīlappērūr* in line 77, it is in a slightly different hand; and from *Kīlappērūr* to the end of the plate, it varies considerably from the two previous portions.

The first part of the inscription, which is the principal one on these plates, is written in the Vaṭṭeḷuttu alphabet of about the 13th century A. D. The alphabet employed in the subsequent portion may be called a debased form of the same script, bordering on the Kōleḷuttu characters.

The only Grantha letters used are *svasti śrī* (l. 1), *śṇajña* (l. 2), *shu* in *vishu* (l. 17), and *sahasra* (l. 67). The writing of the inscription calls for a few remarks. The first thing to notice in this direction is the want of uniformity in the size of letters.

Many letters had been omitted and afterwards entered by way of interlineation. Such are incised below the line. Two instances of them occur in line 19, one in line 25, one in line 56, and another in line 64. It is particularly worthy of mention that at the end of line 68, there is a vacant space which should have contained a number of syllables that are actually required to go with what follows, to complete the sense. The *pa* and *va* of this record are hardly distinguishable from each other: and *ya* has a very small inward loop at the left top. *Ta* is completely closed at the left side: and hard *ra* is shaped almost like a big zero. The bottom portion of *ṇa* is not separated. In its formation, *ṇai* (ll. 12, 38 and 56) resembles the letter *po* with the difference that the former has a closed downward loop at the commencement, which the latter has not. For the long *pō*, the engraver gives an open convex curve on the left side and a secondary *a* symbol on the right. The latter differentiates it from the short *po* to which it is not added (l. 29). It is worthy of note that the distinction between *pō* and *po* is not made

in earlier Vaṭṭeḷuttu charters like the Madras Musuem plates of Jaṭilavarman<sup>1</sup> and the Ambāsamudram record of Varaguṇa-Mahārāja.<sup>2</sup> In this respect, our inscription presents points of similarity to the epigraphs of Śrīvallabhan-Kōḍai<sup>3</sup> and Bhāskara-Ravivarmān<sup>4</sup> in which, however, *ṛa* presents a much older appearance. A reference to the plates will show that with regard to the letters *ṛa*, *ru*, *tu* and *ḍai*, which are generally liable to be mistaken one for the other, our epigraph maintains clear distinction. One other point that calls for attention is that the rare symbol for *ṇo* is employed in lines 74 and 75. There is every likelihood of confounding this letter with *ku* or *kū* and as such it requires more than a passing notice. While *ku* or *kū* is disjointed at the bottom, *ṇo* is completely connected and has a bigger round loop at the commencement: the middle portion resembles the vowel *ē*.

The language of the inscription may be called the western dialect of Tamil, very commonly used in the lithic records of the Malabar coast. There are certain usages which are quite peculiar to these epigraphs and, as such, they deserve notice. Tamil inscriptions often employ colloquial or vulgar forms in registering stone or copper-plate documents, but they are not so profuse as those found in the Vaṭṭeḷuttu records of the Malai-nāḍu. Forms of words and phrases occurring in this inscription, as well as the sense which particular terms convey are worthy of note for a comparative study of kindred records and are also valuable as philological aids. In the name Kṛishṇajñapaḷārar occurring in line 2, *paḷārar* is an adaptation of the Sanskrit *Bhaṭṭāraka*, which finds its way in Tamil in such forms as *Bhaṭṭāragar*, *Piḍārar* or *Paḍārar*.<sup>5</sup> One of the stone inscriptions of Mitrānandapuram introduces a certain Brahmaṇḍaprajñābhaḷārar-tiruvaḍi,<sup>6</sup> another mentions Yādavēndrānubhūtipaḷārar-tiruvaḍi<sup>7</sup> and two others name Rāmajñapaḷārar-tiruvaḍi.<sup>8</sup> A stone record from Tiruvallam, dated in Kollam 411 (= A. D. 1235), brings to notice Mukundōttamapaḷāra-tiruvaḍi.<sup>9</sup> All these persons seem to have been vested with some authority which is not quite apparent at present. That they were entrusted with the management of temples is almost certain; and the fact that Kṛishṇajñapaḷārar of our record had ordered the re-engraving of the contents of inscriptions that existed previously, might be taken to show that they had some power in that connection. The other term *tiruvaḍi*, which they had adopted, might indicate that they were sanyāsins<sup>10</sup> attached to the *maṭhas* belonging to the respective temples.

1 *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XX. Plate facing p. 290.

2 *Ep. Ind.* Vol. IX. plate facing p. 92.

3 *Ibid.* Vol. VIII. plate facing p. 236.

4 *Ibid.* Vol. III p. 72 and *Travancore Archaeological Series*, Vol. II. p. 34.

5 For a short note on the etymology of this word, see *Ep. Ind.* Vol. XIII p. 135.

6 See No. 6 below.

7 The inscription which mentions him is dated in Kollam 660 and is edited below; No. 5.

8 See Nos. 3 and 4, below.

9 This record is noticed in the Annual Report of the Travancore Archæological Superintendent for M. E. 1084. The date has been read as Kollam 430 and the name, Mukundānandapaḷārar-tiruvaḍi. It is edited below, (No. 12).

10 The author of the Tamil work *Ślappadigāram* is Ilaṅgōvadigal, a Chēra prince and a recluse

Adiyārkunallār, the commentator on the *Śilappadigāram* notes that *Adigaḷ* is a term applied to persons who have renounced the world<sup>1</sup> i. e. *sanyāsins*. We find it employed in the case of Aiyai, a female ascetic of the Jaina or Bauddha creed figuring in the work.<sup>2</sup> Sometimes, the term appears in the form *Tiruvaḍi* or *Tiruvaḍigaḷ*. In all cases, it seems to have indicated respectability, reverence or endearment; and, as such, we find it appended to the names of kings, queens, chiefs, elders, heads of spiritual institutions, *sanyāsins*, and gods; or used separately in referring to them. Thus, in inscriptions, we meet with forms like Bhāskaran-Ravivarman-Tiruvaḍi<sup>3</sup> and Śōlaperumān-aḍigaḷ<sup>4</sup> among kings; Kōkkaḷān-aḍigaḷ<sup>5</sup> and Aḍigaḷ-Kamban Māraṁbāvai,<sup>6</sup> Puḡaḷttunai-Aḍigaḷ<sup>7</sup> among queens; Ayyan-aḍigaḷ-Tiruvaḍi and Rāma-Tiruvaḍi,<sup>8</sup> Viḷuppēraraiyar Ayyakkutti Aḍigaḷ<sup>9</sup> among chiefs; Guṇavīrakkurav-Aḍigaḷ,<sup>10</sup> a Jaina teacher; and Tirumūlaṭṭanattu-Perumān-Aḍigaḷ<sup>11</sup> and Kaṛraḷi-Perumān-Aḍigaḷ<sup>12</sup> among the names of gods. From all these, it will be evident that the term could not have had the exclusive sense of a religious recluse. In his *Tiruttonḍattogai* Sundaramūrtti-Nāyaṇār gives a list of the great Śaiva saints that preceded him. To their names, he generally affixes the honorific plural Aḍiyār, perhaps out of respect or reverence. Among these we would specially note Appūdi-Aḍiyār Naminandi-Aḍiyār and Aiyāḍigaḷ Kāḍavarkōn.<sup>13</sup>

In such expressions as “*Mahāḍēvar dēvadānaṅgaḷum Tiruvaḍigaḷ dēva-dānaṅgaḷum*,”<sup>14</sup> “*Tiruvaḍigaḷukku-paṅg-iraṇḍu Mahāḍēvarukku paṅgu aiṇdu*”<sup>15</sup> and “*Tiruvaḍigaḷ śrīkōyilum nandavāṇamum*,”<sup>16</sup> *Tiruvaḍigaḷ* seems to denote exclusively Viṣṇu temples as distinguished from Śiva shrines.<sup>17</sup> Besides the above mentioned usages of the term, we have to note that Aḍigaḷ or Aḍigaḷmār indicated ‘a body of men’ which perhaps included in it all those who performed worship in temples. That this body was separate from, but had the privilege of meeting in company with, the members of the village assembly (*sabhai*), for settling matters of moment is clear from such expressions as “*sabhaiyam aḍigaḷ-mārum avirōdattāl kūḍi-chcheyda kachcham*.”<sup>18</sup> The Sanskrit equivalent of *aḍigaḷ* is *pādāḥ* and its usage is to some extent, similar; e. g., Pūjyapādāḥ, Bhagavat-pādāḥ, Tātapādāḥ, Āchāryapādāḥ, etc. Though the application of the term *aḍigaḷ*

1 அடிகள் என்பது துறந்தவன்.

2 See Canto 1.

3 *Travancore Archaeological Series*, Vol. II., pp. 40, 41.

4 No. 381 of Madras Epigraphist's collection for 1904.

5 Ep. Ind. Vol. VII. p. 133. Here, Kōkkaḷān-Aḍigaḷ is called the mother of Rājaditya.

6 *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. III. Part. III. p. 226.

7 No. 168 of Madras Epigraphist's collection for 1904.

8 *Travancore Archaeological Series*, Vol. II. pp. 67 and 68.

9 No. 168 of Madras Epigraphist's collection for 1904.

10 No. 705 of Do. for 1905.

11 No. 319. of Do. for 1904.

12 *South-Indian Inscriptions* Vol. III. Part III, p. 228.

13 See. p. 699 of Tēvāram.

14 *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. II, page 46, sect. 2, text-line 3f.

15 *Ibid* p. 527, text-line 9.

16 See Introd. to *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. II. p. 41.

17 *Ibid* p. 47 text-line 9.

18 *Travancore Archaeological Series*, Vol. II. p. 85.

or *Tiruvadiḡal* is general, it does not appear to have been so freely used in connection with kings and bodies of men in other parts of Southern India, as in Malabar. And perhaps from this circumstance, the country of Travancore came to be called by the proper name *Tiruvadi-dēsam* or *Tiruvadi-rājya*. It is curious that Dr. Winslow explains *Tiruvadi-rājyam* as a 'society without law or justice', 'anarchy or want of Government'.

In line 3, the term *Baṭṭāragar* is used to denote the god at *Mitrānandapuram*. In this sense, it is invariably employed in Tamil epigraphs. Instances in which the term is used to mean worshippers are not rare. In the subjoined record *olla* is used for *ulla*. It occurs several times e. g. *tiruchchennaḡakkolla* (l. 3.) *mēlōlla* (l. 2.) *nondāviḡakkipoḡla* (l. 35), *amirdiḡpoḡlidu* (ll. 74 & 75) and *rāja-bōgamolladu* (l. 82). In such words as *eppērppaṭṭidu* (l. 4.), *śelvidu* (ll. 6 & 57), *koḡvidu* (l. 17) *oḡlidu* (l. 74) which stand for *eppērppaṭṭadu*, *śelvadu*, *koḡradu* and *ullaḡadu*, we notice the change of the Tamil *a* into *i*. The correct Tamil from *koḡvadu* is also used once in line 25 f. For *amaitta*, the form *amaichcha* is substituted in lines 7 and 20. When a hard consonant (*vallṇam*), follows a nasal or a letter of the *mellinam*, the former is generally changed into the corresponding letter of the *mellinam* class. Several instances of this occur in this inscription. e. g.

*k* is changed into *ṇ*, in *Mūṇṇilkudi* (l. 42), *Panaiṇṇāṭṭūr paṇṇu* (l. 71); and *Kīrttimaṇṇalam* (65 f):

*ch* is changed into *ṇ*, in *Paḷaṇṇi* (l. 34) and *veṇṇi* (l. 43):

*t* into *n*, in *kiḡanna* (l. 56) and *Śēnnaṇ* (l. 18):

and *p* into *m*, in *tāmmira* for *tāmbira*.<sup>1</sup>

For *aimparaḡai*, our inscription substitutes *ampaḡai* (ll. 12, 13, 15 and 49), *aympaḡai* (ll. 22) and *aympaḡai* (l. 53). The use of the word *taṇṇalai* (ll. 9 & 17) for *tanakku* is worthy of note. For the dative, *u* is added instead of *ku* in such instances as *śelaviṇṇu* (l. 68) *agattiyakuṇḡattinṇu* (l. 65), *amudiṇṇu* (l. 80) *viḡakkinṇu* (l. 80) and *vishuviṇṇu* (l. 17). The rules of Tamil grammar would not admit the doubling of the final consonant in these instances. *Niyadi* (ll. 5, 18) of our inscription assumes the forms *nigadi*,<sup>2</sup> *niṡadi*, *niyadam* and *niṡadam* in other records. *Ari* is used for *ariṡi* in lines 19 and 34. Sometimes the connecting particle *um* is omitted e. g. *Peruḡiḡaḡam nālkalam Taḡchakkōḡu irukalaṇ-kūḡa* for '*nārkalamum*' *irukalamumkūḡa*. Similarly, the particle *um* is required after *nārkalam*, *mukkalam* and *irukalam* occurring in lines 42 and 43. The rules of *sandhi* are set at naught in such cases as *nāḷpadu*, *nālkalam*, *paraḡaiarai*, *irukalaarai* (ll. 63, 64), *pūmināl* (l. 70) *oḡṛunāl* (l. 72), *pāḡipāṭṭāl* (l. 66), though the record makes use of such forms as *mūḡakku* (ll. 10, 17) *nāḷpadu*, *nārkalam*, *paraḡaiyarai*, *Mēṛṛachchakkōḡu*, *nāḷpattirupaḡaiyarai*, *nāḷṛuṇi*, (l. 53), and *Aṇaiyaḡaiyāḡiṇṇa* (l. 56). In *mūṇṇonṇu* and *nāḷonṇu*, the marked preference to forms without connecting particles, may be observed. The termination *il* is used for the locative, and *āl* either for the instrumental or for the ablative,—more probably for the latter e. g. *Kōḷachchaimūḡaiyil Varaiyaḡaiyāl nel paḡinṇaḡai* (l. 13 f). *Āl* is also used for the instrumental in such phrases as *iḡaṇḡaḡiyāl aṛunāḡi*.

1 *Travancore Archæological Series*, Vol. I. p. 302.

2 See *Ep. Ind.* Vol. IX. p. 94, n.

The writer of the present inscription gives the names of lands by the quantity of seed that could be sown in them. This custom still obtains in Travancore, Tinnevely and other parts of the Tamil country. Thus the term *paṇḍiru-tūṇi-vittuppāḍu* (l. 46) indicates a land that could be sown with twelve *tūṇi* of seed. Instead of *vittuppāḍu*, its equivalent *viraiippāḍu* is now current in such phrase as *nālukōṭṭai viraiippāḍu*. Quite in the same sense, the shortened phrase *kalampāḍu* (l. 23 &c.) is employed in this record; and it means that the land requires (one) *kalam* (of seed). Sometimes, perhaps for the sake of brevity, the writer omits the term *pāḍu* and uses only *kalam* e. g. *Vittikōḍu nilam kalam* (l. 38 f) where it means that the land called *Vittikōḍu* (can be sown with) (one) *kalam* (of seed). In expressing the income derived from lands, the writer uses the words '*nilam enkalattāl nelpaḍiṇ-aim-parai* (l. 28)' i. e. fifteen *parai* of paddy (accruing) from the land (which requires) eight *kalam* (of seed) for sowing. In most cases, this form is still further shortened into *Vittikkōḍu nilam kalam nel irupattiru-parai* (l. 38f) or by omitting even the word *nilam* e. g. *Mūṇṇilkōḍu nārkalam nel muppapāḍu-parai* (l. 49 f).

The term *mēloḍi*, which is often used in our inscription, is not explained in dictionaries. But its sense can, with some amount of certainty, be determined from its use. In the above paragraph, it has been shown that the writer of the present inscription indicates the incomes from lands by mentioning the quantity of paddy immediately after the lands which are again expressed by simply noting the quantity of seed that could be sown in them. In a large number of cases, the quantity of paddy is followed by such terms as *mūṇṇ-ṇṇu-mēloḍi* (ll. 22 f and 30) *nāl-ṇṇu mēloḍi.kolvaḍu* (l. 29), *mēloḍi mūṇṇ-ṇṇu* (l. 70), or merely *mēloḍi* (l. 45), from which it looks as if the term *mēloḍi* stands for the income derived from the lands. *Mēlvāram* will not be an improper equivalent of *mēloḍi*. And in this connection, it may be noted that there is still the usage '*mūṇṇatt-ṇṇu mēlvāram*' and '*nālil-ṇṇu mēlvāram*', current in some parts of the Tamil districts. *Oḍi* in modern Malayālam means "a rice field" and not the income from it. In the sense of *mēloḍi*, *ayakara* is used in line 62.

*Vellaṅgolli* (ll. 11, 25, and 37), *kaḷapaṇai* (l. 23), *kaḷavarai* (ll. 23 & 50), *paṭṭattuḍavai* (l. 25), *eruma-āḷa* (l. 25), and *muṭṭavilai* (l. 25), are terms applied to indicate different classes of lands. *Purayiyāḍam* or *puraiyiyāḍam*, i. e. land surrounding houses (ll. 34 and 57), *vayal* and *karai* are also mentioned (l. 75). The meaning of *Purappadāgāram* (l. 75) is not clear: perhaps it is a proper noun here. But in other epigraphs *paḍāgāram* and *pnñaiippadāgāram* are used in a general sense.

Among the names of measures, we have *iḍaṅgaḷi*, *nāḷi*, *uri*, *uḷakku*, *parai*, *tūṇi*, *karrai* (ll. 62 and 65) and *kalam*. *Parai* contained according to line 26, ten *nāḷi*. From other inscriptions, we gather that it varied in its capacity. The Śrīvallabhan Kōḍai epigraph of Tiruvaṇmaṇḍūr mentions one which held nine *nāḷi*<sup>1</sup>

The phrases *munṇālichchai-ari* and *nānālichchhari*, which are not in popular usage, occur in lines 57 and 80. In these cases, *chai* and *cha* appear to be contractions of *cheydu* which is the form used in similar places in the Māmballī plate of Śrīvallabhan-Kōdai<sup>1</sup> and the stone inscriptions of Bhāskara-Ravivarman.<sup>2</sup> In the former plate, *cheydu-nel* is also used.<sup>3</sup> In all these instances, *cheydu*, *chai*, and *cha* are not mere expletives but appear to convey the meaning 'good, clean or superior' and are probably the remnants of the word *seydu* or *śemmai*. Thus *cheydu-nel* means 'good paddy' and *cheyd-ari* 'superior rice.' Here may be noted the use of "*chennel*", "*arisi chennel-tittai nānāli*," employed in similar places in other epigraphs.<sup>4</sup> In *Tachchōli Pāṭṭu* the phrase "*munṇālichchhari*" occurs, perhaps in the same sense.<sup>5</sup> *Viṭṭu-ulōyam* (l. 60f), *sāndivirutti* (l. 67) and *amavādi*, stand for *Vishṇulōka*, *sāntivritti* and *amāvāsya*. The change of Vishṇu into *Viṭṭu* is one worthy of note. The word generally adopts the form *vinṇa* changing the *sh* into *n*: e. g. *Viṇṇagara* for *Vishṇugriha*, *Kanna* for *Krishṇa*. But the substitution of *ḍa* for *sha* is quite common e. g. *Mēḍa* for *Mēsha*, *Iḍavam* for *Ṛishabha*. *Tiruvakkirām* frequently figures in the Vaṭṭeḷuttu inscriptions of the State, while *uttamāgram* takes its place in the epigraphs of the Tanjore, Trichinopoly and other districts.

Among proper names of lands, we frequently meet with the endings *kōḍu* (ll. 8, 15, 22, 69), *kāḍu* (ll. 25 and 31) or *kūḍu* (l. 14), *muṛi* (l. 52) or *muṛai* (l. 55), *vāy* (ll. 47 and 62), *maṇ* (ll. 12f, 43, 46), and *aṛa* or *aṛai* (ll. 13, 30, 42, 48, 56).

Dēvarśittan, which occurs in line 60, must be taken to denote the name of a standard grain and liquid measure, probably called after the god, just as *Āḍavallān* and *Dakshināmēruviṭaṅkan* mentioned very often in the Tanjore inscriptions of Rājārāja I. In former times, it was also customary to call weights and measures after the names of kings e. g. *Rājakēsari*, *Viḍelviḍugu*, *Arumolidevan*.

This epigraph does not appear to be a fresh grant but purports only to give a list of lands that had been made over to the temple at different times and recorded as such either on stone or copper. This fact is plain from the use of the phrase "*veṭṭirunapadi*" occurring in line 4. The engraving of the present inscription was ordered by one *Krishṇajña-apalārār* (ll. 2 to 4) who must have been a person of some consequence, though his calling and authority are not mentioned. The astronomical data furnished regarding the date on which the order for the re-engraving was given i. e. "In the month of *Vṛiśchika* when *Jupiter* stood in *Dhanus*" (l. 1) are not sufficient for calculation or verification.

1 Ep. Ind. Vol. IX. p. 236 text-line 9.

2 Trav. Archl. Series; Vol. II. pp. 39 and 47.

3 Ep. Ind. Vol. IX. p. 236 text-line 10.

4 Ibid, Vol. VII. p. 90, text-lines 15 and 30.

5 See Dr. Gundert's Malayālam Dictionary under *munṇāli*.



The object of the inscription is to register the gifts made to meet the expenses of the temple at Mitrānandapuram. The first of the grants recorded is said to have been made in the month of Mithunam when Jupiter was in Tulām, by a certain Kuṇṇan Kēraḷaṇ, a resident of Peruṅgūlam, for supplying a dish of sacred meal (l. 5), which is here apparently intended for feeding a Brāhmaṇa. The second gift was made by Śēdan Kāṇḍaṇ of Dēvarppalli, for offerings to the god and sacred meal and condiment (l. 18f). The same person is said to have provided also for burning a perpetual lamp in the temple. The inscription then gives a list of lands, which were perhaps given by others for the same purpose *i. e.* for sacred lamps (l. 35ff). Next follow further grants made by Śēdan Kāṇḍaṇ of Dēvarppalli, for conducting worship and for performing *sahasraṇ* (*i. e.* *sahasra-nāmā-archana* 'offering of flowers 1,000 times uttering the thousand names of the god') (l. 65). Then the inscription registers gifts made for offerings and expenses to be defrayed on the days of *Amāvādi* (*i. e.* *Amāvāsyā* 'the new-moon') (l. 76). Finally, in somewhat later characters, the epigraph records that the Vēṇāḍu king Ravimārttāṇḍavarman of Kīlappērūr bestowed the incomes of *Rājabhōga* and *tuṇam* which accrued to him at Tiruvānandapuram, for daily offerings and sacred lamps (ll. 78ff). The inscription ends with the mention of the name Iravi-Pērūr (l. 82).

It remains now to note that Mitrānandapuram, to whose temples our inscription registers grants, forms part of Trivandrum. It is situated to the west of the temple of Śrī-Padmanābhasvāmin from whose western gate a stonepaved path-way leads to it. Here are three shrines dedicated to Śiva, Viṣṇu and Brahmā. As will be noticed below in editing the stone inscriptions of Mitrānandapuram, like Kṛishṇajña-Bhaṭārar of the subjoined inscription, Rāmajña-Bhaṭārar and Brahmaṇḍajña-Bhaṭārar were connected with the management of the same temple at different times. A point that is worthy of special mention is that the god in the Brahmā shrine is called in its inscriptions Dakṣiṇasvarṇamukai-Bhaṭārar.

Quite a large number of proper names of villages and lands are furnished in this inscription. A list of these, arranged in alphabetical order, is given below. I have been able to indentify most of the villages. In column 2 of the list the names of villages and lands as they occur in the inscriptions, are given; in column 3, the references to the lines; and in column 4, a short note as regards their identification.

Serial No.	Name of villages and lands.	References to lines.	Remarks.
1	2	3	4
1	Agattikōḍu	73	There is a village named Agastyakōḍ in the Anchal-Pakuthi of Pathanapuram Taluk.
2	Agattiyakunḍam	65	

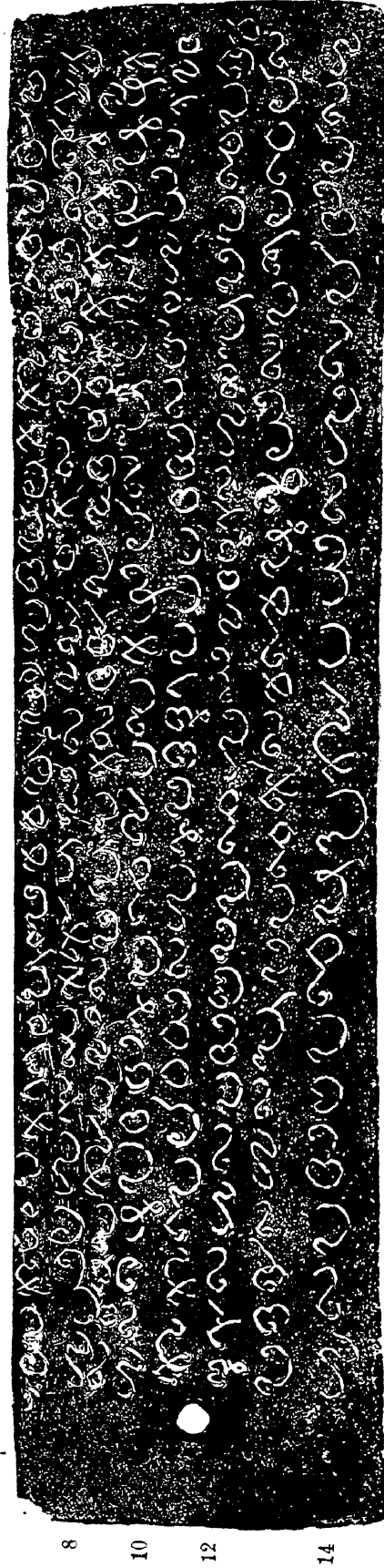
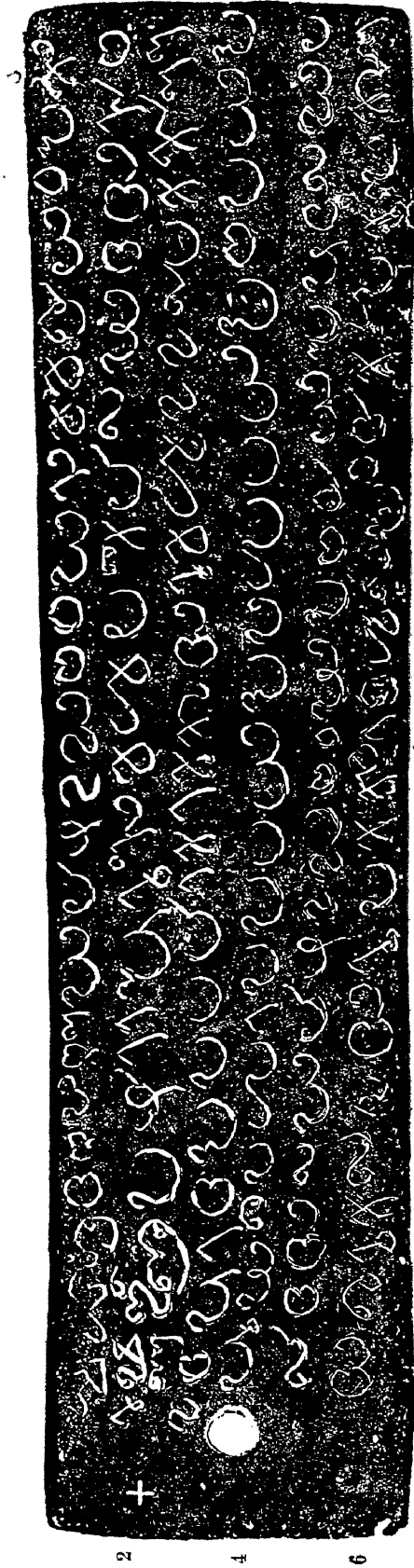
Serial No.	Name of villages and lands.	References to lines.	Remarks.
1	2	3	4
3	Ālaikkōttūr	51	
4	Ālayakkōttai	39	
5	Ambaruttikkulī	77	
6	Āṇaikkulimugam or Mēlāṇaikkulimugam	54, 55, 56	
7	Āṇaiyārāi	56	
8	Āṇḍamānūr	48	
9	Āriyappalaññi	27	
10	Devarpalli	18, 69	This name which occurs before Śēṇṇaṇ Kaṇḍaṇ may be considered as the village of original settlement of the person.
11	Idaikkarkāḍu	42	
12	Idaimalaikkāl	30	There is a village called Idamala in Pūñjār-Pakuthi in Peermade Taluk. Idamulakkal is a Pakuthi in Pathanapuram Taluk.
13	Idaimalai Śirriḍaimalai Pēriḍaimalai	31, 59	
14	Idaiyarman	46	
15	Īlantōttam	58	This is now a hamlet of Muṭṭattara Pakuthi in the Trivandram Taluk.
16	Īlavēṇāḍu	59	Īlavēṇāṭṭunallūr figures as a village in the Huzur plates of Karunandaḍakkan of the 9th century A. D. where it is stated to be situated in Teṅga-nāḍu and as sum must be located in the Viḷavañkoḍ Taluk, Painkulam-Pakuthy.
17	Īṇḍanūr	11, 12	
18	Iravipērūr	82	This is a Pakuthi in Tiruvalla Taluk.
19	Irutalaikōḍu	54	
20	Kaḍuvēlamālaikulam	43	
21	Kallarai	48	
22	Kaṇichehikōḍu	22	

Serial No.	Name of villages and lands.	References to line.	Remarks.
1	2	3	4
23	Kīlappē.ār	77	There is a village of this name belonging to Vēllalūr-Pakuthi in the Chirayinkīl Taluk.
24	Kīlupulam	44	
25	Kīrttimaññalam	65 f	
26	Kolachchaimūlai	13	
27	Koṇḍaṇṇerai	77	
28	Koṇṇaiyaṇai	30	
29	Kulaikkāḍu	37	This may be identical with Kulakkāṭa one of the Pakuthies of the Kot-tarakkara Taluk.
30	Kummam-Peruntāṇṇi	74	It is now a hamlet belonging to Pāl-kulaṇṇarai - Pakuthy, Trivandrum Taluk.
31	Kuṇḍaiyam	39	There are two hamlets of this name, one in Paṭṭāli-Pakuthi and the other in Pathanapuram Pakuthi of the Pattanāpuram Taluk.
32	Kurraṇai-muṇi or-uṇā	52, 53	
33	Kurugātti	76	
34	Kuvaīyūrkkāl	69	
35	Maṇalpaḷaṇṇi	34	This is now a hamlet belonging to Tiruvattūr Pakuthi of the Neyyat-tinkara Taluk.
36	Maṇikkāl	33, 38, 41	Bearing the name Maṇikkāl, there are two places in the Nedumangad Taluk. One of them is a hamlet of Nellanad-pakuthi and the other is a Pakuthi by itself.
37	Maṇṇarai	8	It is a hamlet belonging to Aṇḍūr-kōṇam-Pakuthi, Trivandrum Taluk.
38	Mēl-Kāḍiyūr	25	
39	Mēl-Toḷundiyūr	64 f	
40	Mittirānandapuram	2 f, 79	This is a part of Trivandrum, quite close to the Padmānābhasvāmin temple; a stone paved pathway leads to it from the western gate of the temple of Padmānābhasvāmin. Here are shrines of Śiva, Viṣṇu and

Serial No.	Name of villages and lands.	References to lines.	Remarks.
1	2	3	4
41	Mudākkāl	21, 25, 28, 37	Brahmā and a <i>maṭha</i> . These have already been referred to (pp. 10 to 11). This is a hamlet belonging to Nella-nad Pakuthi of the Nedumangad Taluk.
42	Mudukūḍu	14	
43	Mūññilkōḍu	49	
44	Muṭṭavilai	58	This may be Muṭṭattarai-Pakuthi of the Trivandrum Taluk.
45	Naḍuvattumurai	55	
46	Nannāḍu or Nannāṭṭukkāl	29	There is a village named Nannad in Tiruvammundūr Pakuthi, Chengannur Taluk.
47	Nechchikkōḍu	23, 25 f	I have not been able to find out Nechchikkōḍu among the villages and hamlets of Travancore but there is one bearing the name Nechchiputūr which is a hamlet of Lālam-Pakuthy of the Minachchal taluk.
48	Neḍuman	44	There are two villages of the name Neḍuman, of which one figures as a hamlet in Karakulam-Pakuthy of the Nedumangad Taluk and the other is a hamlet of Enadimangalam-Pakuthi in Kunnathur Taluk.
49	Nenṇanērai	47	
50	Oṟṟimā	27	
51	Pālaikkōḍu	31, 50	This may be identified with the hamlet of Pālakkāḍu in Thotappuzhaseri of the Tiruvalla Taluk.
52	Paralkkōṭṭelvāyil	51	
53	Panaiññāṭṭūr	71	
54	Pērilikkōḍu	8	
55	Perumanpūr	11	There are hamlets of this name in Kuṭṭamangalam Pakuthi of Mu-vattupuzha taluk and Idamulakkal Pakuthi of Pathanapuram Taluk. There is a village named Peruman

Serial No.	Name of villages and lands.	References to lines.	Remarks.
1	2	3	4
56	Perumbālainan	31, 61, 64	in Trivandrum taluk and another in Quilon Taluk.
57	Perumbānaiyūr	32 f	
58	Peruṅḡḷam	6, 36	This is a Pakuthi of the Nedumangad Taluk. There is also a hamlet of this name in Kuḷakkāḍa-Pakuthi of the Kottarakara taluk and another in Mailam Pakuthi of the Pattanapuram Taluk.
59	Perunīr	32	
60	Peruntāṇṇi	74	This is only a part of Trivandrum, now spelt Peruntānni.
61	Piṇarkkōḍu	15	
62	Poṇṇārai		
	or	29	
	Kālapoṇṇārai		
63	Pōyili	61	
64	Pūdikōḍu	69 f	
65	Puṇṇūr	40	
66	Puraṇi	45	
67	Purappaḍagāram	75	
68	Pūvaṇai and		
	Kīlpūvaṇai	42	
69	Śempalundi	49	This is the hamlet of chempazhanji belonging to Uḷiattura Pakuthi of the Trivandrum Taluk.
70	Śempalundinallūr	62	
71	Śirukuvaiaṅṅu	35	
72	Śirupāṇaiyam	33	
73	Śirutāḷarai	42	
74	Śirutuṇavāy	64	
75	Tachchakkōḍu and	36	It is one of the <i>karas</i> of Tiruvitāṇ-
	Merrachchakkōḍu	37	kōḍ Pakuthi in Eraniel Taluk.
76	Tiruvāṇandapuram	81	This is only Trivandrum.
77	Tuṇiyūrkkāl	46	
78	Uḷamalaikkāl	60, 63 f	This is a Pakuthi of the Nedumangad Taluk.
79	Uraiyrkkōḍu	28	

Serial No.	Name of villages and lands.	References to lines.	Remarks.
1	2	3	4
80	Uḷiyatturai	32	
81	Vañjamaṇ	12 f	
82	Vanjiyūr	52	This forms one of the Pakuthies of the Trivandrum Taluk.
83	Varaiyārai	13	
84	Vēṇāḍu	78	
85	Veññimaṇ	43	
86	Vēṇpāykkunṇam	7, 45	This may be identical with Vembāyam Pakuthi of Nedumangad Taluk.
87	Veyvēru	41	
88	Vīḷiṇam or Vīḷiṇattuvāy	47	Vīḷiṇam is a hamlet in Kōṭṭukāl Pakuthy in Neyyarringara Taluk.
89	Vēṭṭikōḍu	38	There is a village named Vēṭṭikōḍu in Paḷḷikal pakuthy of Mavelikkara Taluk.
90	Viṭṭu-ulōkam	60 f	



*First Plate: First Side.<sup>1</sup>*

1. ஸ்ரீ ஸ்ரீ [||\*] தனுவினுள் வியாழந் நின்ற விரிச்ச<sup>2</sup> ஞாயிறு கி-
2. ருணபுழார் அருளிச்செய்கையால் மித்திரான-
3. ந்தபுரத்து பட்டாரகர்க்கு திருச்செந்நடைக்கொள்ள<sup>3</sup>
4. பூமி எப்பெர்ப்பட்டிதும்<sup>4</sup> வெட்டிதுனபடி<sup>5</sup> [||\*] து-
5. லாத்தில் வியாழந் நின்ற மிதுன ஞாயிறு முதல் நிய-
6. தி ஒரு கலந் திருவக்கிரஞ் செல்விதாக<sup>6</sup> பெருங்குள-

*First Plate: Second Side.*

7. த்து குன்றங் கேரளன் அமைச்ச பூமி [||\*] வெண்பாய்க்குன்றத்து தான-
8. நெடிய பெரிளிக் கொடு நிலந் நாற்கலமு[ம்\*] மண்ணறை இரு[க]-
9. லமுந்<sup>7</sup> கூட நிலம் அறுகலத்தாலுந் தன்றலைக் கொளுளுந்<sup>8</sup>
10. நெல் எழுபத்திரு பறை இடங்கழியால் அறுநாழி மூழக்
11. கு[||\*] குவையாற்றில் பெருமண்ணூர் வட்டத்தில் தான நெடிய ஈந்த-
12. னாரால் நெல் பதினைம்பறை[||\*] மெலீந்தனாரால் நெல் அம்பறை[||\*] வஞ்ச-
13. மண்ணால் நெல் அம்பறை[||\*] கொலச்சை மூலையில் வரையறையால்
14. நெல் பதின்பறை[||\*] முதுகூட்டில் மெல் பாதியால் நெ-

1 The Tamil numeral for 'one' in the form of a plus sign is marked on the left margin.

2 Read விரிச்சிக.

3 Read நடைக்குள்ள.

4 Read எப்பேர்ப்பட்டதும்.

5 Read வெட்டியிருந்தபடி.

6 Read செல்விதாக.

7 A symbol which resembles the letter த is found between ல and மு. Perhaps it has been scored out or wrongly inserted.

8 Read கொள்ளுந்.



Second Plate:<sup>1</sup> First Side.

15. ல் அம்பறை[II\*] பிணர்க்கொட்டால் நெல் அம்பறை[II\*] கூட நெல் பதினா-
16. ழிப்பறையால் நூற்றொருபத்தெழுபறை இடங்கழியால் அறு
17. நாழி முழுக்கு[II\*] சித்திரை விஷ-வின்னு தன்றலைக் கொள்விது<sup>2</sup>[II\*]
18. தெவர்பள்ளிச் செந்நங்கண்டன் நியதி இரட்டையால் அஞ்-
19. ஞாழி யரி பாதி திருவமுதும் பாதி<sup>3</sup> திரு அக்கிரத்தின்னும்<sup>3</sup> வெஞ்-
20. சனத்தின்னும் அமைச்ச பூமி[II\*] ஈராற்றிடை தெவர்புளிமா எழுக-
21. லத்தால் பதினாழிப்பறையால் நூற்றைம்பது பறை[II\*] முதாக்கா-

## Second Plate: Second Side.

22. ல் கணிச்சிகொட்டு வெள்ளங்கொள்ளி அயம்பறை வித்துபாடு[I\*] மு-  
ன்றென்-
23. று மெலொடி[II\*] நெச்சிகொட்டு களபறையுந் தலைத்தடியும் கலம்பாடு  
[I\*] இதி-
24. னால் நெல் பதின்பறை[II\*] செந்நங்கண்டனே ஒரு நந்தாவிளக்கின்கு<sup>4</sup>  
அமைச்
25. ச பூமி[II\*] முதாக்கால் கணிச்சிகொடும் மெல்காடியூர் முக்கலமும்  
[I\*] நெச்சிகொ-
26. ட்டு வெள்ளங்கொள்ளியும் பட்டத்துடவையும் எரும ஆளும் முட்ட-  
விளை
27. ஆரியப்பழஞ்சி மெலொள்ள ஒற்றிமாவு கூட நெல் நூற்றொருபது  
பறை[II\*]
28. முதாக்கால் உறையூர்க்கொடு நிலம் என்கலத்தால் நெல் பதினைம்ப-
29. றை[II\*] நன்னாட்டுகால் பொங்குறை கலம்பாடு[I\*] நாலொன்று மெ-  
லொடி கொள்
30. வது[II\*] இடைமலைக்கால் கொன்றையறை கலம்பாடு[I\*] முன்றென்று  
மெலொடி[II\*]

1 The Tamil numeral 2 is marked on the left margin.

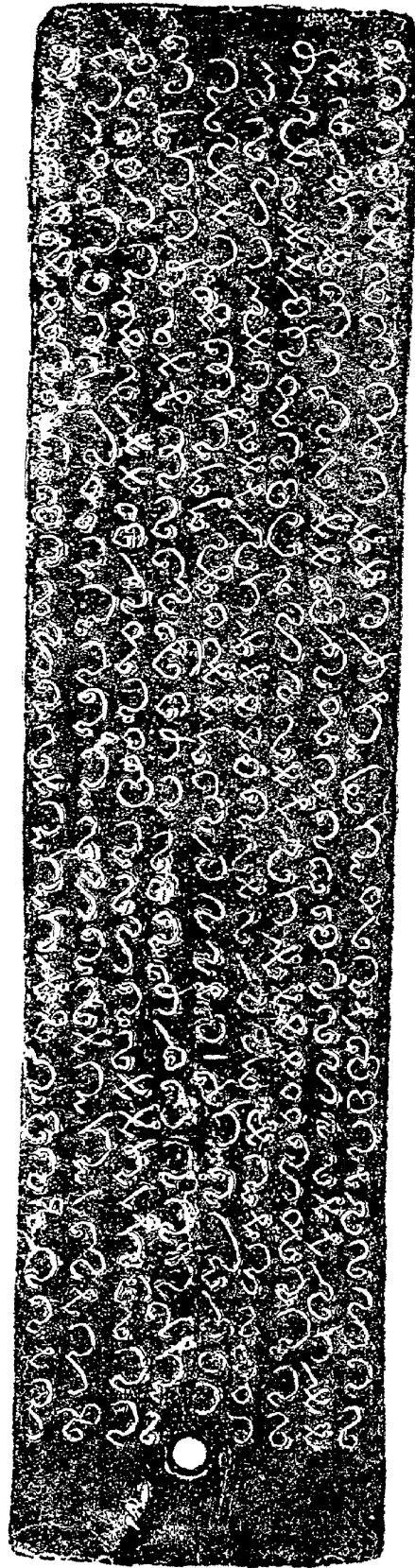
2 Read கொள்விது.

3 The சி of பாதி and க் of திரு அக்கிரத் are engraved below the line.

4 Read விளக்கின்கு

5 The ச of கணிச்சி is written below the line

[illegible][illegible]

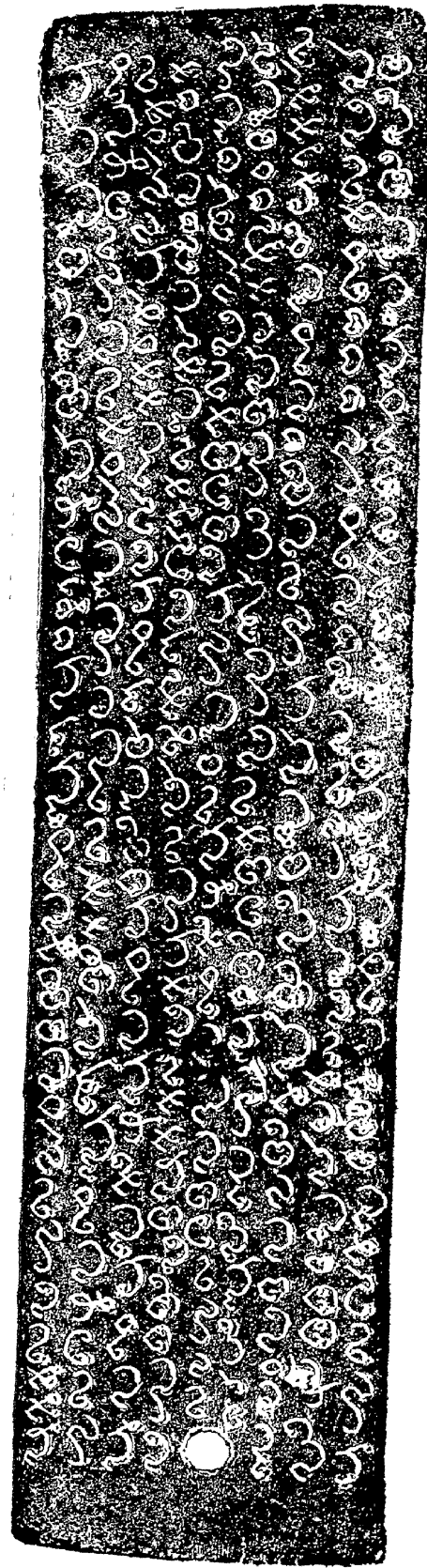


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*Third Plate: 1 First Side.*

31. பெரும்பாலைமண் பாலைகொடு அறுகலம்[1\*] நெல் பதினெம்பறை[11\*]  
சிற்றிடைம-
32. லை பெருநிர் அறுகலம்[1\*] நெல் அம்பது பறை[11\*] உளியாத்துறை  
பெரு-
33. ம் பணையூர் முக்கலம்[1\*] நெல் பதின்பறை[11\*] மாணிக்கால் சிறுபா-  
ணயத்தா-
34. ல் அரி முப்பதினாழி[11\*] மணல்பழஞ்சி நிலமிருகலமும் புரையி-
35. டத்தாலும் அரி 1 திருநந்தாவிளக்கின்னொள்ள பூமி[11\*] சிறுக்கு-  
வை-
36. யாற்றில் பெருங்குளந் நால்கலம்[1\*] தச்சக்கொடு இருகலம்[1\*] கூட  
நெல் நா-
37. ல்பது பறை[11\*] மெற்றச்சக்கொடு இருகலம்[1\*] நெல் எண்பறை[11\*]  
முதாக்கால் குழை-
38. க்காடு இருகலம்[1\*] நெல் பதினெம்பறை[11\*] மாணிக்கால் விட்டி-  
கொடு நிலம்[1\*] க-
39. லம்[1\*] நெல் இருபத்திருபறை அரை[11\*] ஆழாய்க்கொட்டையில்  
குண்டயம்

*Third Plate: Second Side.*

40. முக்கலம்[1\*] நெல் நாற்பத்திருபறை அரை[11\*] புன்னூர் எழுதுணி  
வித்துபாடு[1\*]
41. நெல் எழுபறை அரை[11\*] மாணிக்கால் வைய்வெறு நாற்கலம்[1\*]  
நெல் எழுபறை[11\*]
42. பூவறையுள் கிழ்புவறையுள் சிறுதாளறையும் இடைக்கற்காடுந் நாற்-  
கல-
43. ம்[11\*] வெஞ்சுமண் முக்கலம்[1\*] கடுவெலமாலைகுளம் இருகலம்[1\*]  
கூட ஒன்பதின் க-
44. லம்[1\*] நெல் எண்பது பறை[11\*] கிழபுலத்து நெடுமண் எண்கலம்  
[1\*] நாலொன்று மெ-
45. லொடி[11\*] அவிடையெ புறணி எண்கலம்[1\*] மெலொடி[11\*] வெண்  
பாய்க்குன்றத்து இ-
46. டையற் மண் பந்திருதுணி வித்துப்பாடு[1\*] நெல் பதின பறை[11\*]  
துறியூர்க்கால்
47. விழிஞ்சுத்துவாய் கலம்பாடு[1\*] நெல் பதின்பறை[11\*] நென்னென-  
றை கலம்பா-
48. டு[1\*] நெல் இருபத்திருபறை அரை[11\*] அண்டமாலூர் கல்லறை  
அறுதுணி வித்-

Fourth Plate:<sup>1</sup> First Side.

49. து பாடு[1\*] நெல் அம்பறை[11\*] செம்பமுந்தி மூங்கில் கொடு நாற்கலம்[1\*] நெல் மு-  
 50. ப்பது பறை[11\*] பாலைகொட்டில் குளவறையுந் தலைத்தடியும் பந்திரு தூணி வித்-  
 51. துபாடு[1\*] நெல் பதிற்பறை[11\*] பால்கொட்டெல்வாயில் ஆலைக்கொ-  
 ட்டூர் இருகலந்[1\*] நெல் ப-  
 52. திற்பறை[11\*] வஞ்சியூர் குற்றறைமுறி அறுதூணி வித்துபாடு [1\*]  
 நெல் பதிற்பறை[11\*] குற்றறை-  
 53. உருப் பூமி நாற்றூணி வித்துபாடு[1\*] நெல் நாழியால் நூற்றையம்ப-  
 திழை[11\*]  
 54. ஆனைக்குழிமுகத்து இருதலைகொடு நாற்கலம்[1\*] நாலொன்று மெ-  
 லொடி[11\*] மெலானைக்கு-  
 55. முழுகத்து நடுவத்து முறை நாற்கலம்[1\*] நெல் இருபத்தையம்பறை  
 [11\*] மெலை  
 56. கிடந் 2 ஆனையறையாகின்ற நிலம் இருகலம்[1\*] ஆனைக்குழிமுகத்து  
 கொட்டை இ-  
 57. ரண்டு கரைபடலும் புரையிடத்தாலும் முந்நாழிச்சை அரி செல்வி-  
 து[11\*]

## Fourth Plate: Second Side.

58. முட்டவிளை இளந்தோட்டத்து புரையிடத்தா[ல்\*] நெல் முப்பது ப-  
 றை[11\*]  
 59. இளவெனாட்டு சிற்றிடை மலையும் பெரிட மலையும் இடைமலையும் ப-  
 ந்தி-  
 60. ருகலம்[1\*] நெல் தெவர்கித்தனல் இருபத்துநாலு கற்றை[11\*] உழ-  
 மலைக்கால் விட்டு உ-  
 61. லொகம் இருகலம்[1\*] நெல் நூற்று நாழி[11\*] பெரும்பாலைமண் பொ-  
 யிலி எழுதூணி வி-  
 62. த்துபாடு[1\*] நெல் பதிற்பறை அயகர கொள்விது[11\*] செம்பமுந்தி  
 நல்லூர் நிலம்[1\*]  
 63. 3 நெல் ஒன்பதினாழித்தூணியால் பந்திரண்டு கற்றை [11\*] உழம-  
 லைக்-  
 64. கால் சிறுதுறவாய் இருகல அரை[1\*] நெல் பதிற்பறை[11\*] பெரும்-  
 பாலைமண்<sup>4</sup> மெல் தொழு-  
 65. ந்தியூர் இருகலம்[11\*] அகத்தியகுண்டத்தின்னு நெல் முன்று கற்றை  
 [11\*] கீர்த்தி-  
 66. மங்கலம் வயலுங் கரையும் பாதி பாட்டிலும் மெலொடி கொள்விது  
 [11\*]

1 The Tamil numeral ௪ is marked on the left margin of this plate.

2 The Syllables யறை are written below the line.

3 At the commencement of this line, there is a vacant space for five letters. Some words like இரு-  
 மம், முக்கலம் etc. seem to have been omitted to be incised.

4 The பா of this word is entered below the line.

*Fourth Plate:<sup>1</sup> First Side.*

49. து பாடு[1\*] நெல் அம்பறை[11\*] செம்பழுந்தி மூங்கில் கொடு நாற்க  
லம்[1\*] நெல் மு-
50. ப்பது பறை[11\*] பாலைகொட்டில் குளவறையுந் தலைத்தடியும் பந்திரு  
தூணி வித்-
51. துபாடு[1\*] நெல் பதிற்பறை[11\*] பால்கொட்டெல்வாயில் ஆலைக்கொ-  
ட்டூர் இருகலந்[1\*] நெல் ப-
52. திற்பறை[11\*] வஞ்சியூர் குற்றறைமுறி அறுதூணி வித்துபாடு [1\*]  
நெல் பதிற்பறை[11\*] குற்றறை-
53. உறூப் பூமி நாற்றூணி வித்துபாடு[1\*] நெல் நாழியால் நூற்றையம்ப-  
தினாழி[11\*]
54. ஆனைக்குழிமுகத்து இருதலைகொடு நாற்கலம்[1\*] நாலொன்று மெ-  
லொடி[11\*] மெலாளைக்கு-
55. முிமுகத்து நடுவத்து முறை நாற்கலம்[1\*] நெல் இருபத்தையம்பறை  
[11\*] மெலை
56. கிடநந் <sup>2</sup>ஆனையறையாகின்ற நிலம் இருகலம்[1\*] ஆனைக்குழிமுகத்து  
கொட்டை இ-
57. ரண்டு கரைபடலும் புரையிடத்தாலும் முந்நாழிச்சை அரி செல்வி-  
து[11\*]

*Fourth Plate: Second Side.*

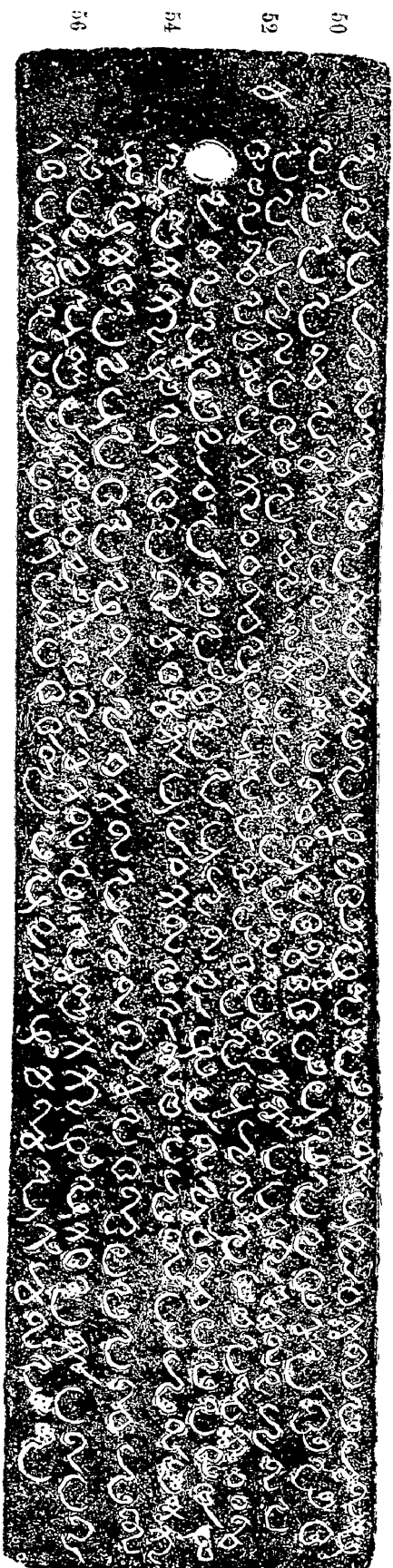
58. முட்டவிளை இளந்தோட்டத்து புரையிடத்தா[ல்\*] நெல் முப்பது ப-  
றை[11\*]
59. இளவெணாட்டு சிற்றிடை மலையும் பெரிட மலையும் இடைமலையும் ப-  
ந்தி-
60. ருகலம்[1\*] நெல் தெவர்கித்தனால் இருபத்துநாலு கற்றை[11\*] உழ-  
மலைக்கால் விட்டு உ-
61. லொகம் இருகலம்[1\*] நெல் நூற்று நாழி[11\*] பெரும்பாலைமண் பொ-  
யிலி எழுதூணி வி-
62. ததுபாடு[1\*] நெல் பதிற்பறை அயகர் கொள்விது[11\*] செம்பழுந்தி  
நல்லூர் நிலம்[1\*]
63. <sup>3</sup>நெல் நுன்பதினாழித்தூணியால் பந்திரண்டு கற்றை [11\*] உழம-  
லைக்-
64. கால் சிறுதுறவாய் இருகல அரை[1\*] நெல் பதிற்பறை[11\*] பெரும்-  
பாலைமண்<sup>4</sup> மெல் தொழு-
65. ந்தியூர் இருகலம்[11\*] அகத்தியகுண்டத்தின்னு நெல் முன்று கற்றை  
[11\*] கீர்த்தி-
66. மங்கலம் வயலுங் கரையும் பாதி பாட்டிலும்<sup>4</sup> மெலொடி கொள்விது  
[11\*]

1 The Tamil numeral ௪ is marked on the left margin of this plate.

2 The Syllables யறை are written below the line.

3 At the commencement of this line, there is a vacant space for five letters. Some words like இருகலம், முக்கலம் etc. seem to have been omitted to be incised.

4 The பா of this word is entered below the line.

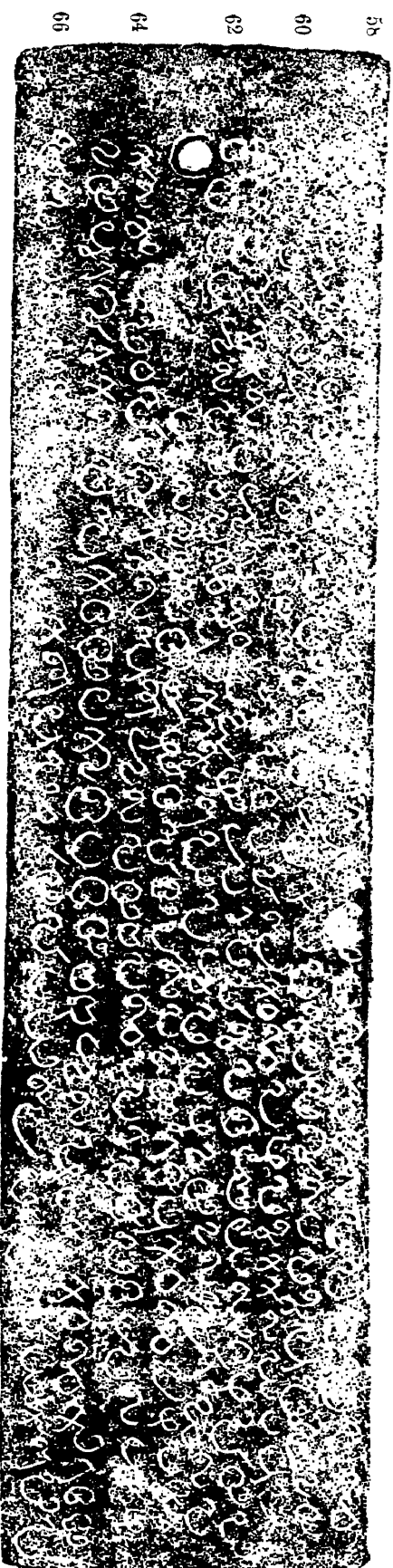


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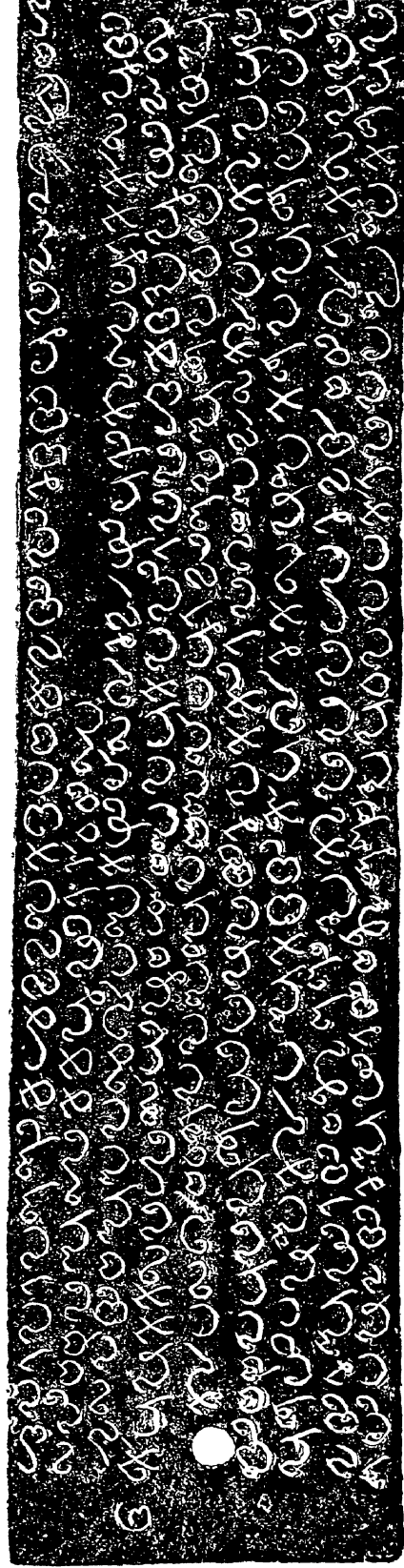
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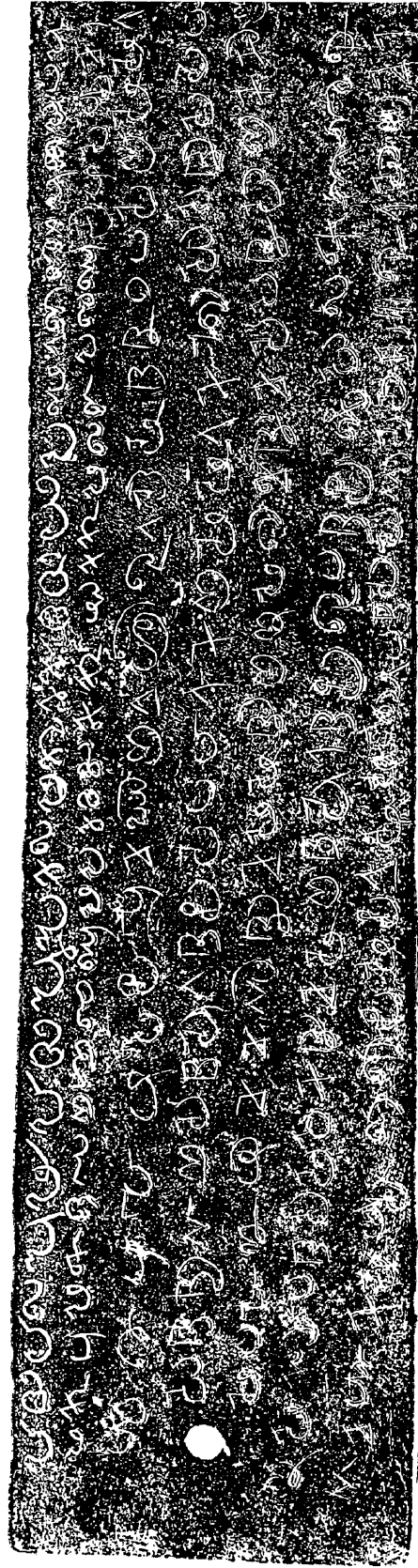


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*Fifth Plate:<sup>1</sup> First Side.*

67. தெவர்(வர்)பள்ளிச்<sup>2</sup> செந்நங் கண்டன் சாந்தி விருத்தியும் ஸஹஸ்ரீன் செ-  
 68. லவின்னும் அமைச்ச பூமி[II\*] ஈராற்றிடை<sup>3</sup>  
 69. நெல் பதின் அறுபறை இடங்கழியால் இருநாழி யுரி[II\*] குவையுர்க்-  
 கால பூதி-  
 70. கொடு முக்கலம்[I\*] மெலொடி முன்றென்று[II\*] வடுகப்பிரம்ம தெ-  
 சத்து பூமிநால்  
 71. கூடல் ஒன்றரைப் பங்கு[I\*] பனைங்நாட்டுர் நீளம் அரைப் பங்கும்[I\*]  
 அ-  
 72. தின்னு படும் புரையிடமும்[I\*] திருவக்கிரம் ஒன்றுநால் கூடல்குப-  
 டும்  
 73. புரையிடமுங்[I\*] கூட அகத்திகொடு இருகலமுங்[I\*] கரைப் புரையி-  
 டமு-  
 74. ன்[I\*] திருஅமிர்தின் னெள்ளிது[II\*] கும்மம் பெருந்தான்றி இருக-  
 லமும் பு-  
 75. ரையிடமுந் திருஅமிர்தின் னெள்ளிது[II\*] புறப்படகாரம் வயலுங்-  
 கரையும்

*Fifth Plate: Second Side.*

76. பாதியால் அமாவாதி ஆறு கலம்[II\*] குருகாத்தியி லுமை<sup>4</sup>[ன்னுற]  
 புரையிடவு-  
 77. ம் கூடும்[II\*] கொண்டென்னெறை அம்பருத்திக்குழிக்கும் ஒரொ ப-  
 றை அ<sup>5</sup>கிழப்பெரூர்  
 78. வெணடு வாழ்ந்து அருளின்ற ஸ்ரீ இரவி மாத்தாண்டவன்ம்மர்  
 79. மித்திரானந்தபுரத்து பட்டாரகன்ம்மார்க்கு<sup>6</sup> நியதிப்படி  
 80. மட நானாழிச்சரி திருமமுதின்னும் ஒரு திருநந்தாவிளக்கின்-  
 81. னும் கூட தன்மமாக திருவான[ந்\*]தபுரத்து இடத்துள் விலகொள்ளு  
 [ம்\*] [இ]-  
 82. [ரா]ச[பொ]கம்மெ[ம]ரள்ளதும் து[றமு]ம் கூட தந்நிரிப்பது<sup>7</sup>[II\*]  
 இரவிபெரூர்.

- 1 The Tamil numeral ௫ is marked on the left margin of this plate.
- 2 The letters வர் are engraved twice. The repetition must be cancelled.
- 3 The latter half of this line is not engraved. It should have contained the proper name of the land or village and its sowing capacity.
- 4 After this the writing appears different till பறை அ of the next line.
- 5 What follows அ is in a later script.
- 6 Read பட்டாரகர்க்கு. Over the syllables ன்ம்ம a few dots are marked to indicate that they must be deleted.
- 7 Read தந்திருப்பது.

## Translation.

(Lines 1—4). Hail! Prosperity! In the month of Vṛiśchika, when Jupiter stood in Dhanus, Kṛishṇajñāpalārār, having been pleased to order, all classes of lands, set apart for the sacred requirements (*tiruchcheṇṇāḍai*)<sup>1</sup> of the god (*Bhaṭṭāraka*) of Mitrānandapuram, (*are recorded*) as engraved (*before*).

(Ll. 5—17). Beginning with the month of Mithuna, when Jupiter stood in Tulā, in order to meet the daily expences of one dish (*kalam*) of sacred meal (*agram*), Kuṇṇaṇ Kēraḷaṇ of Peruṅḡḷam granted seventy-two *paraḷ* and six *nāḷi* (*as measured*) by the *iḍaṅgaḷi* and three *uḷakku* of paddy which was due to him (*as his share of the produce*) on the land Tāṇanēḍiya-Pērilikkōḍu (*requiring*) four *kalam* (*of seed*) in Venbāyḱkuṇṇam and the (*land*) of Maṇṇarai (*requiring*) two *kalam* (*of seed*)—in all, land (*requiring*) six *kalam* (*of seed*). (*He also gave*) fifteen *paraḷ* of paddy from Tāṇanēḍiya-Indaṇūr included in Perumannūr-vaṭṭam in Kuvaḷyāru; five *paraḷ* from Mēlīndaṇūr; five *paraḷ* from Vaṇṇamaṇ; ten *paraḷ* of paddy from Varaiyārai in Kolachchaimūlai; five *paraḷ* of paddy from the western half of Mudukāḍu and five *paraḷ* of paddy from Pinaṅkōḍu. (*Thus*) in all, (*the quantity of*) paddy assigned was one hundred and seventeen *paraḷ* (*as measured*) by the *paraḷ* holding ten *nāḷi*, six *nāḷi* (*as measured*) by the *iḍaṅgaḷi* and three *uḷakku*. (*This*) shall be received under the head of (*expences required for*) Sittirai-vishu (*festival*).

(Ll. 18-24). The following are the lands granted by Śēndaṇ Kaṇḍaṇ of Dēvarpaḷḷi for (*expending*) twice daily, five *nāḷi* of rice, (*one*) half for sacred offerings and (*the other*) half for sacred meal and condiment:—

One hundred and fifty *paraḷ* (*of paddy*) (*as measured*) by the *paraḷ* holding ten *nāḷi*, out of the (*income from the land called*) Dēvar-Puḷimā in Irāṅṇiḍai (*requiring*) seven *kalam* (*of seed*).

The Vellaṅgolḷi (*land*) of Kaṇichchakkōḍu belonging to (*the village of*) Mudākkāl and (*requiring*) five *paraḷ* of seed: the owner's share (*mēḷoḍi*) from this is one in three. The kaḷappaṇarai and talaiṭṭaḍi (*lands*) of Nechchikkōḍu (*requiring*) (*one*) *kalam* (*of seed*) (with the income of) ten *paraḷ* of paddy.

(Ll. 24-35). The same Śēndaṇ Kaṇḍaṇ gave the following lands for perpetual lamps:—

(*One*) hundred and ten *paraḷ* of paddy in all (*accruing from*) Kaṇichchakkōḍu in Mudākkāl as well as Mēl-Kāḍiyūr (*whose sowing capacity is*) three *kalam*, and the Vellaṅgolḷi, Paṭṭattudavai, Eruma-āḷ, Muṭṭavilāi (*lands*) in Nechchikkōḍu together with Orrimā situated to the west of Āriyappaḷaṇṇi.

1 Though *ṣeḷ* by itself, may mean 'temple', compounded with the word *ṣeḷ*, it conveys the sense 'scale of current expences': compare a similar usage in No. 153 of *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. III. p. 324.

Fifteen *paraī* of paddy from the land (called) Uraiyrkkōḍu, (requiring) eight *kalam* (of seed) and belonging to (the village of) Mudākkāl.

The proprietor's share (*mēloḍi*) of one in four shall be received from Poṇṇarai (requiring) (one) *kalam* (of seed) (and belonging to) Naṇṇāṭṭukkāl) <sup>1</sup>

Koṇṇaiyārai belonging to Iḍaimalaikkāl, (requiring one) *kalam* (of seed) (with its) proprietor's share (*mēloḍi*) of one in three.

Pālaikōḍu belonging to Perumbālaimaṇ (requiring) six *kalam* (of seed) (with its income of) fifteen *paraī* of paddy.

Peruṇṇir belonging to Śiṇṇidaimalai (requiring) six *kalam* (of seed) (with its income of) fifty *paraī* of paddy.

Perumbānaiyūr in Uḷiyārrurāi (requiring) three *kalam* (of seed) (with the income of) ten *paraī* of paddy.

Thirty *nāḷi* of rice (accruing) from Śiṇṇupānaiyam in Mānikkāl.

The rice (accruing) from the land called Maṇalpaḷaiṇṇi (requiring) two *kalam* (of seed) together with the land surrounding the house (in it).

(Ll. 35-66). The (following) lands exist for sacred lamps:—

Peruṇṇuḷam in Śiṇṇakuvaiyāru (requiring) four *kalam* (of seed) and Tachchakkōḍu (requiring) two *kalam* (of seed), together (yielding an income of) forty *paraī* of paddy.

Mel-Tachchakkōḍu (requiring) two *kalam* (of seed), (with its) (income of) eight *paraī* of paddy.

Kuḷaikkāḍu in Mudākkāl (requiring) two *kalam* (of seed) (with its income of) fifteen *paraī* of paddy.

The land of Viṭṭikōḍu in Mānikkāl (requiring) one *kalam* (of seed) (with its income of) twenty-two *paraī* and a half of paddy.

Kuṇḍayam in Āḷayakkōṭṭai (requiring) three *kalam* (of seed) (with its income of) forty-two *paraī* and a half of paddy.

Puṇṇūr (requiring) seven *tūṇi* of seed (with its income) of seven *paraī* and a half of paddy.

Veyvēru in Mānikkāl (requiring) four *kalam* (of seed) (with its income of) seven *paraī* of paddy.

Pūvarai, Kīḷpūvarai, Śiṇṇutālarai and Iḍaikkarkāḍu (requiring) four *kalam* (of seed).

Veṇṇimaṇ (requiring) three *kalam* (of seed) and Kaḍuvēlamāikuḷam (requiring) two *kalam* (of seed),—altogether (land requiring) nine *kalam* (of seed), (with the income of) eighty *paraī* of paddy.

Neḍuman belonging to Kīḷupulam (requiring) eight *kalam* (of seed) (with its) proprietor's share of one in four.

1 It is also possible to take Kālapoṇṇarai as being situated in Nannāḍu.

- Puraṇi in the same place, (*requiring*) eight *kalam* (*of seed*) (*with its*) proprietor's share.
- Iḍaiyarman in Venpāykkunṇam (*requiring*) twelve *tūṇi* (*of seed*) (*with the income of*) ten *paraṭai* of paddy.
- Viliṇattuvāy in Tuṇiyūrkkāl (*requiring*) (*one*) *kalam* (*of seed*) (*with the income of*) ten *paraṭai* of paddy.
- Neṇṇaṇeraṭai (*requiring*) (*one*) *kalam* (*of seed*) (*with the income of*) twenty-two *paraṭai* and a half of paddy.
- Kallarai in Aṇḍamāṇūr (*requiring*) six *tūṇi* of seed (*with the income of*) five *paraṭai* of paddy.
- Mūṇṇilkōḍu in Śembaḷundi (*requiring*) four *kalam* (*of seed*) (*with the income of*) thirty *paraṭai* of paddy.
- The *kuḷavarai* and *talaṭṭaḍi* (*lands*) in Pālaikkōḍu (*requiring*) twelve *tūṇi* of seed (*with the income of*) ten *paraṭai* of paddy.
- Ālaikkōṭṭūr in Paralkōṭṭelvāyil (*requiring*) two *kalam* (*of seed*) (*with the income of*) ten *paraṭai* of paddy.
- Kurṇaraimuṇi in Vaṇṇiyūr (*requiring*) six *tūṇi* of seed (*with the income of*) ten *paraṭai* of paddy.
- The Kurṇarai-uṛā land (*requiring*) four *tūṇi* of seed (*with the income of*) (*one*) hundred and fifty *nāḷi* of paddy (*as measured*) by the *nāḷi*.
- Iṛutalaikkōḍu in Āṇaikkulimugam (*requiring*) four *kalam* (*of seed*) with the proprietor's share of one in four.
- Neduvattumuraṭai in Mēḷaṇaikkulimugam (*requiring*) four *kalam* (*of seed*) (*with the income of*) twenty-five *paraṭai* of paddy.
- Land lying to the west of it called Āṇaiyaṇai (*requiring*) two *kalam* (*of seed*).
- From the *karaipaḍal* and *puraiyaḍam* of Āṇaikkulimugam (*requiring*) two *kōṭṭai* (*of seed*), shall be received three *nāḷi* of good rice.
- Thirty *paraṭai* of paddy from the *puraiyaḍam* of Iḷantōṭṭam in Muṭṭavilāi.
- Śiṛṇḍaimalai, Pēriḍaimalai and Iḍaimalai in Iḷa-Vēṇāḍu (*requiring*) twelve *kalam* (*of seed*), (*with the income of*) twenty-four *karṇai* of paddy (*as measured*) by Dēvarśittaṇ.
- Vitṭu-ulōgam in Uḷamalaikkāl (*requiring*) two *kalam* (*of seed*) (*with the income of*) hundred *nāḷi* of paddy.
- Pōyili in Perumbālaiman (*requiring*) seven *tūṇi* of seed (*with the income of*) ten *paraṭai* of paddy which shall be taken as its *ayakara*.
- Land in Śembaḷundinallūr (*with the income of*) twelve *karṇai* of paddy (*as measured*) by the *tūṇi* holding nine *nāḷi*.
- Śiṛuturavāy in Uḷamalaikkāl (*requiring*) two *kalam* and a half (*of seed*) (*with the income of*) ten *paraṭai* of paddy.
- Mel-Tōḷundiṇyur in Perumbālaiman (*requiring*) two *kalam* (*of seed*):

Three *karrai* of paddy from Agattiyakuṇḍam.

The proprietor's share (*mēloḍi*) from the *vayal*, *karai*, and *pāḍippāḍu* of Kīrttimaṅgalam shall be received.

(Ll. 67-70). The following (*are the*) lands given by Śendaṅ Kaṇḍaṅ of Dēvarpaḷḷi for the employment of worshippers and for the expenses of *sahasran*.

Īrāṇṇiḍai (*with the income of*) sixteen *paraḷ*, two *nāḷi* (*as measured*) by the *iḍangaḷi* and (*one*) *uri* of paddy.

Pūdikōḍu in Kuvaiyūrkkāl (*requiring*) three *kalam* (*of seed*) with the proprietor's share of one in three.

(Ll. 70-74). In addition to one share and a half (*which is*) the excess in the lands belonging to Vaḍuga-Brahmadēśam, half of the long share in Paṇai-ṇāṭṭūr (*inclusive of*) the *puraiyiḍam* attached to it, and also the *puraiyiḍam* (*which is*) in excess of the lands set apart for one sacred meal, as well as Agattikōḍu (*requiring*) two *kalam* (*of seed*), along with (*its*) *karaiḍippuraiyiḍam*; are (*assigned*) for sacred offerings.

(Ll. 74-75). Kummam-Peruntāṇṇi (*requiring*) two *kalam* (*of seed*) and its *puraiyiḍam* are also for sacred offerings.

(Ll. 75-77). For *amāvādi*, is assigned half of the field (*vayal*) and *karai* (*belonging to*) Purappaḍagāram (*with an income of*) six *kalam* of paddy.

Umai...nnuṇa in Kurugātti together with its *puraiyiḍam* shall also be added.

Koṇḍaṇṇerai and Ambaruttikkūḷi, each (*with an income of*) one *paraḷ* (*of paddy*).

(Ll. 77-82). The glorious Ravimārttāṇḍavarman, who was pleased to rule Vēṇāḍu (*with his capital at*) Kīlappērūr, gave to the god (*bhaṭṭāraka*) of Mitrānandapuram as (*his*) charity all the rents (*rājabhōga*) and *tuṇam* which he was obtaining on purchases (*made*) in his place at Tiruvānandapuram, for the daily sacred rice offering of four *nāḷi* of good rice and for one sacred perpetual lamp.

(L. 82). Iravi-Pērūr.

## A COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF THE MITRANANDAPURAM MUTT.

The subjoined inscription is engraved on both sides of a single copper-plate belonging to the Mitrānandapuram *maṭha*. It was obtained on a short loan from a Potti gentleman in whose possession it was, by Mr. V. Srinivasa Sastri, Smṛiti-viśārada, Pandit of the Archæological Department. I edit it from one set of impressions taken under his supervision.

The alphabet of the inscription is Vaṭṭeḷuttu and the language is Tamil similar to that employed in the set of copper-plates belonging to the same *maṭha* and edited above, pages 1 ff. The preservation of the record is good. But, it

must be remarked, that the engraver was not careful in incising the document. Mistakes of spelling and omission of letters and passages are numerous and we note the following:—

*Tālā* (l. 1) for *tulā*: *Mitrānda* (l. 1) for *Mitrānanda*: *Śuvākaraṇ* for *Śuvākaraṇ*, throughout: *Kirundaṇ* (l. 4) for *Kiruṇaṇ*: *tārakaḷ* (l. 6) for *Baṭārakaḷ*: *aṛiyumu* (l. 8) for *aṛiyum*: *iḍita* (l. 8f.) for *iḍiṇu*: *aṛupaduṛai* (l. 3a) for *aṛupadu paṛai*: *muptupattiru* (ll. 3a & 3b) for *muppattiru*: *koḍilakku* (l. 11) for *koḍi viḷakku*: *aṛiyumu* (l. 13) for *aṛiyum*: *Śuvākaraṇṇiṇ* (l. 16) for *Śuvākaraṇ Maṇiyaṇ*: *tivādeṣi* (ll. 16-18) for *tuvādeṣi*. A whole passage had been omitted immediately after *muppadu* in line 3 and this passage was subsequently engraved at the end of the plate in smaller characters, perhaps for want of space, and continued on the left margin in four short lines. A similar omission in line 10 after *ichchelaru* having occurred, it was rectified by engraving the omitted letters on the right margin in two lines. Here again we have to point out that *iḷi* stands for *iru-nāḷi* and that *amardi* has to be corrected into *amirdu*.

Among the dialectic forms of words in the record may be put down: *eḷun-naruḷichecha* (l. 4) for *eḷundaruḷuvitta*: *tāḷikkirāmam* (l. 5) for *sāḷigrāmam*: *seyda-diṇu kolvidu* (l. 5) for *seyradukku* or *seydadukku kolvaḍu*; *ari* (ll. 5 & 12) for *ariṣi*: *pandiru* (l. 7) for *panniru*: *seyinṇa* (l. 8) for *seykinṇa*: *iḍiṇu* (l. 10) for *iḍarku*: *achchiṇu* (l. 19) for *achchukku*.

*Pichchai*, which occurs in line 6, stands for *bhikṣhai*. In the phrase ‘*baṭārakaḷ pichchai paṇṇuvidu*’ (l. 6), the term *baṭārakaḷ* evidently means a *sannyāsi*, though ordinarily it is used to denote ‘god’ as in lines 2 and 18.

The record states that Śuvākaraṇ Maṇiyaṇ of Malaimaṇṇam set up in the maṇḍapa of the Mitrānandapuram temple, the image of Śrī-Kṛṣṇa-Tiruvaḍi and an un-specified number of *sāḷigrāmams* and made a gift of 600 *paṛai* of paddy and 30 elephant marked coins.

Out of the annual interest of 132 *paṛai* of paddy, accruing from this gift, it was ordered that 120 *paṛai* of paddy should be used for preparing rice offerings to the deities and for feeding a *sannyāsin*, the remaining 12 *paṛai* of paddy being utilised for purchasing ghee. And it is said that the donor also gave a vessel for cooking (*uruḷi*), a bell and a lamp-stand made in the shape of a creeper. He is further stated to have made a gift of 3 coins for feeding a Brāhmaṇa and for making offerings to the god on the days of *dvādaśi*. As witnesses to the gift are mentioned Kēṣavaṇ Dāmōdiraṇ of Taraṇinallūr, Śaṅkaraṇ Nārāyaṇaṇ of Vaikkam, Kāmaṇ Sundaraṇ of Irāyamaṅgalam.

Of the places mentioned in the inscription, Mitrānandapuram is, as has already been noted, a quarter of Trivandrum, situated not far from the Padmanābhasvāmin temple; Vaikkam is the headquarters of a Taluk in the Kōṭṭayam division; Irāyamaṅgalam is a pakuthy in the Kunnattunād Taluk; Taraṇinallūr is in the Cochin State. The last is the native place of the Nambūdirippād, who has got the *tantri* right in the Padmanābhasvāmin temple. I hear that he is also in charge of certain other temples in the Travancore State. He belongs to a much respected family noted for its wealth and learning and is highly regarded. We

2  
 4  
 6  
 8  
 10

The text on this plate is written in an ancient script, likely Grantha or Tamil, and is arranged in a single column. The script is highly stylized and compact. There are two circular holes visible on the left side of the plate, which were used for binding multiple plates together.

12  
 14  
 16  
 18

The text on this plate continues the inscription from the first plate, also written in the same ancient script. It is arranged in a single column. There is one circular hole visible on the left side of the plate, used for binding.

note the above fact as it is likely that the attestation made in this copper-plate document belonging to the Mitrānandapuram *maṭha* by a temple manager (*adīyār*) who was a native of Taraṇinallūr, might suggest an early connection of this Nambūdirippāḍ of that place with the temples in the Travancore State.<sup>1</sup>

From a careful comparison made between the palæography of the subjoined record with many other dated ones ranging from the 1st century of the Kollam era to the 5th, I find that it can be assigned to the middle of the 4th century of the Kollam era i. e. about the latter half of the 12th century A. D.

### Text.

1. ஸுவத்தி ஸ்ரீ<sup>2</sup> [II\*] விரிச்சியத்தில் வியாழந் நின்ற தூலா<sup>3</sup> ஞாயிறு யடு சென்ற நாள் மித்திரா[ன\*]ந்த-
2. புரத்து பட்டாரக[ர்\*]க்கு மலையமன்றத்து சுவாகரன்<sup>4</sup> மணியன் கல்ப்பி-  
ச்ச செல-
3. வினு ஒள்ள நெல் அறுதூறு<sup>5</sup> பறை ஆனை அச்ச முப்பது [II\*] இந்நெல்லி-  
னும் அச்சினும் ஒள்ள
4. பொலி கொண்டு சுவாகரம்<sup>6</sup> மணியன் மண்டபத்தில் எழுந்நருளிச்ச சிரி  
கருண்டன் தி-
5. ருவடிக்கும் தாளக்கிராம தெவகள்க்கும் அமுது செய்ததினு கொள்விது  
[II\*]மிக்க அரி மடை
6. இருநாழி[யு]ம் ஒரு [ப\*]டார[ர்\*]கள் பிச்சை பண்ணுவிது [II\*] இதினு  
கழியுந் நெல் தூற்று இருபது ப-
7. றை நிக்க நெல் பந்திரு பறையும் நெய் அமிர்து விலைக்கு கொள்விது [II\*]  
திருப்பரிகல-
8. ம் சாந்தி செயின்ற நம்பிக்கு [யு]த்தியந்நொக்கு கொடுத்து இதி-
9. த<sup>7</sup> வெண்டும் இலையும் விற்கும் கறியும் அட்டி யூனும் ஒண்டாக்-
10. கிக் கொள்விது [II\*] இம்மார்க்கம் இச்செலவு<sup>8</sup> மடை இழி<sup>9</sup> திரு அமர்-  
திம்<sup>10</sup> இதினு தி-
- 3a. இந்நெல்லினு பொலி அறுபது [ப\*]றை அச்சினு பொலி நெல் எழுபத்தி  
ரு பறை கூடபொலி நெல் தூற்று முப்து<sup>11</sup>

1 Mr. Nagamaiya notes in his Travancore Manual that Paraśurāma conferred on two families the right of 'ruling priest' in the temples of Malabar and that one of the families is the Taraṇinallūr Nambūdirippāḍ.

2 The words ஸுவத்தி ஸ்ரீ are engraved on the left margin of the plate in two lines: read  
ஸ்வத்தி ஸ்ரீ.

3 Read தூலா.

4 Read சுவாகரன்.

5 The று of தூறு is entered below the line.

6 Read சுவாகரன்.

7 Read ஂன.

8 The passage மடை இழி திரு அமர்தி is engraved on the right margin of this side.

9 Read இருநாழி.

10 Read அமிர்தும்.

11 Cancel து.



- 3b. பத்திரு ப-  
 3c. ஹையங் கொ-  
 3d. ண்டு செலவு  
 3e. செல்விது [11\*]

*Second Side.*

11. ரு அமிர்து உருளி ஒன்றும் மணி ஒன்று[ம்\*] கொடி[வி\*]ளக்கும் செ-  
 ப்புவட்டகை  
 12. ழுன்றும் கூட செலவு கல்ப்பிச்சமைக்கு அடியார் தரணிநெல்-  
 13. லூர்க் கெசவன் தாமொதிரனும் அறியுமு<sup>1</sup> [11\*] வைக்கத்து சங்கரன் நா  
 14. ராயணனும் அறியும்[11\*] இவை இராயமங்நலத்து காமஞ்சந்தர-  
 15. ன் எழுத்து[11\*] சுவாகரன்<sup>2</sup> மணியன் எழுத்து[11\*] இச்செலவு கல்ப்-  
 பிச்ச  
 16. சுவாகரன்<sup>3</sup> மணியன் அனந்திரஞ் செல்விது[11\*] சுவாகரன்<sup>4</sup> [ம்\*]ணி-  
 [ய\*]ன் திருத்தூ<sup>5</sup>  
 17. வாதெசிக்கும் ழுபண்டாரத்தில் வைச்ச அச்ச முன்றுங் கொண்டு  
 தூ<sup>6</sup>  
 18. வாதெசிக்கு பட்டாரகர்க்கு அரிமடை இருநாழி ஒரு பிராமணர்க்கு  
 19. மடை<sup>7</sup> இருநாழி[11\*]

**Translation.**

Hail ! Prosperity ! on the 15th day, expired, in the month of Tulā, when Jupiter stood in Vṛiśchika, Śuvākaraṇ Maṇiyaṇ of Malaiyamaṇṇam ordered (certain) expenses (to be incurred in the temple) of the god at Mitrānandapuram (and) provided six hundred *paraī* of paddy and thirty *āṇai-achchu* (i. e. coins bearing elephant mark). Having received the interest of sixty *paraī* on this (i. e. the above said six hundred *paraī* of) paddy and the interest of seventy-two *paraī* of paddy on the *achchu*, in all (one) hundred and thirty-two *paraī* of paddy,— the expenses shall be met. For offerings made to the god Śrī-Krishṇa-Tiruvaḍi and to the *Sāḷagrāma-Dēvas*, which Śuvākaraṇ Maṇiyaṇ had set up in the *maṇḍapa*, the interest (accruing) from this (quantity of) paddy and *achchu* shall be taken. With the balance of rice viz. two *nāḷi*, one Bhaṭāra shall be fed. Twelve *paraī* of paddy, (that would remain) after deducting (one) hundred and twenty *paraī* of paddy (required) for this expenditure, shall be taken for purchasing ghee offering.

- 1 Read அறியும்.  
 2 Read சுவாகரன்.  
 3 Read சுவாகரன்.  
 4 Read சுவாகரன்.  
 5 Read துவாதெசி.  
 6 Read துவாதெசி.  
 7 மடை இருநாழி is incised on the left margin.

Giving the Nambi, who performs the *śānti*, sacred vessels for (cooking) one dish<sup>1</sup> and providing him also with leaves, fire-wood and vegetables required for it, meals shall be prepared. The ordering, in this manner, of this (i. e. the abovesaid) expense of (supplying) sacred offerings with two *nāḷi* of rice, together with one *uruli*<sup>2</sup> for (cooking) the sacred offering, one bell, one *koḍi-viḷakku* (i. e. a lamp-stand in the shape of a creeper) and three copper *vattakai*<sup>3</sup> (required) for this expense, is known to the Adiyār<sup>4</sup> Kēśavaṇ Dāmōdaraṇ of Taraṇinallūr. Śaṅkaraṇ Nārāyaṇaṇ of Vaikkam also knows this. This is the signature of Kāman Sundaran of Iraya-maṅgalam. (*This is*) the signature of Śuvākaraṇ Maṇiyaṇ. The next successor<sup>5</sup> (or relation) of Śuvākaraṇ Maṇiyaṇ, who instituted this expense, shall conduct it. Having received the three *achchu* which Śuvākaraṇ Maṇiyaṇ had (*further*) deposited in the temple treasury for (*the expenses connected with*) the sacred *dvādaśī* feeding, two *nāḷi* of rice to the Bhaṭāraka and two *nāḷi* of rice to one Brāhmaṇa (shall be given).

### No. 3— On the back wall of the Brahma shrine at Mitranadapuram.

This inscription, which is engraved on the back wall of the Brahmā shrine at Mitrānandapuram, is left unfinished. Evidently, its object was to register a gift of certain incomes of paddy and gold, to the shrine of Dakṣiṇa-Svarṇamukai-Bhaṭāra, made in the presence of Rāmajiṇa-Bhaṭāra-Tiruvaḍi, in the *maṇḍapa* on the southern enclosure of the temple at Mitrānandapuram, by Pūrṇakīrtti-Rāma-varmar of Pulamaṇ in Vēṇāṭṭ-Iḷaṅkūru.

Pulamaṇ is a village in the Kottāraṅkarai Taluk as well as in the Pattanā-puram Taluk. Which of the two places is here intended it is not possible to know. Vēṇāṭṭ-Iḷaṅkūru<sup>6</sup> occurs in the Tiruvattāru inscription of Vīra-Udaiya-mārtāṇḍavarman. *Taṇṇaḍil* in line 2 stands for *sannadhuyil*.

#### Text.

1. வீவிழி ஸ்ரீ [||\*]<sup>7</sup> மகர வியாழத்தில் விரிச்சிக னுயிற்று மித்திரானந்தபுரத்து  
தெக்கின் சுற்றுமண்டபத்தில் ராஜபுடாரர்
2. திருவடி தன்னதில் வெண்டிளங்கூறு புலமண் [பூர்ணகீர்த்தி ரா]மவர்மர்  
வழுதிசூளத்தாறும்<sup>8</sup> கொயில்வெள்ளயூர் [பு]மி-
3. மெல் விரயூர் விருத்தி[யொ]டு கூடக் கொள்ளுந் நெல்லும் ர[கைசீப்பொன்]  
னும் கொண்டு ஐக்கிணவீண-ஐக்கைப் பட்டாரர்<sup>9</sup>

1. If there is no omission of letters in *puttiyannakku*, it must be considered a corruption of *bhukti annukku*.

2. A wide mouthed bell-metal vessel.

3. This is probably வட்டில் 'a platter'.

4. By this term is perhaps meant a temple servant or manager.

5. The passage might also be taken to mean 'the expenses must be conducted after the demise of Śuvākaraṇ Maṇiyaṇ who instituted it'. In this case, the grant must have been made at his last moments.

6. This name has been read as "Kōḷiḍaikkūru by the late Professor Sundaram Pillai (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXIV. p. 278) and as Iḷankuḍai by Mr. T. A. Gopinatha Rao (above, Vol. I. p. 296).

7. There is a small scratch before ம.

8. This has perhaps to be read "த்தாறும்".

9. The further portion of this inscription is not engraved.

## Translation.

Hail ! Prosperity ! In the month of Vṛiśchika, when Jupiter was in Makara, at the *maṇḍapa* on the southern enclosure of the Mitrānandapuram (*temple*), and in the presence of Rāmajñabhaṭārar-Tiruvadi..... obtaining paddy and the *rakshābhōga* gold, which Pūrṇakīrtti Rāmavarmar of Pulaman in Vēṇāṭṭ-Ilaṅkūru used to derive from the lands of Valudikuḷam and Kōyil-Veḷḷayūr along with Viraiyūr-Virutti ..... to (*the god*) Dakṣhiṇasvarṇamukai-Bhaṭārar.

## No. 4.— On the south wall of the Brahma Shrine.

This inscription is engraved on the south wall of the Brahmā shrine at Mitrānandapuram. Its preservation is not very bad, though the letters are not incised deep enough. The alphabet employed is Vaṭṭeḷuttu and the language Tamil. Sanskrit letters in Grantha characters are used in *svasti śrī*, *Rāmajñabha*, *Dakṣhiṇa-svarṇamu* and *namaskāram* in line 1; and *rakshai*, *rakshābhōgamā* and *namaskāramum* in line 2.

The wording of the deed is rather loose. The object of the inscription is to register gift of the *rakshābhōga*, amounting to one hundred and thirty-two *parai* of paddy, derived by Dēvaṇ Chakrāyudaṇ of Śaṅkaramaṅgalam, to the temple of Dakṣhiṇasvarṇamukai-Bhaṭāra at Mitrānandapuram, for the daily expense of four *nāḷi* of rice for offerings and *namaskāram*, which required 120 *parai* of paddy and for vegetables, tamarind, salt, pepper and leaves which required 12 *parai* of paddy. Evidently, the gift was made in the presence of Rāmajñabhaṭārar.

As noted already, such usages as *eḷattu* for *iḍattu*, *pandiru* for *paṇṇiru*, and the dative form *śelaviṇṇu* for *śelamukku* and *seydadiṇṇu* for *seydadukku* are quite common to the western dialect. *Oru-pu* and *iru-pu* are still used in some places to denote 'single crop and double crop'. The forms *nānāḷichchai* and *parai-chchai* for *nānāḷi* and *parai* are worthy of note. In these cases, the *chai* is an expletive.

## Text.

1. ஸ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ [||\*] மகரத்தில்ப் புரு வியாழந் நின்ற மகர ஞயிற்று மித்[தி]ரான  
ந்தபுரத்து தெக்கின் திருச்சுற்றுமண்டபத்தில ராஜஜஹடா[ரர்] திருவ  
டி இருந்நருளியெடத்து டக்ஷிணவண்ண[உ]கை பட்டாரகர்[க்\*]கு நிய  
தி மடையால் நானாழிச்சை செய்தரி திருவமிர்து நலவாரமும்.....<sup>2</sup>
2. ப்பிரசான சங்கரமங்கலத்து தெவஞ்சக்கிராயுதன் தன்னுடய ரகெஷி எப்பெர்  
ப்பட்டதின்மெலும் ரக்ஷாஹொறாக இச்செலவின்னு ஓராண்டால் நெல்  
தூற்றிருபது பறைச்சை செய்தும் நலவாரமேலு அமுர்துசெய்ததின்  
னுந் நியதி [இருமு]றி த..... காயும் இருகழஞ்ச புளியும் உப்பும் மிஉ  
கும் இலைக்கும் ஓ-
3. ராண்டால் நெல் பந்திருபறையும் கூட நெல் இருபுவகையுந் தூற்றுமுப்பத்தி  
ருபறைக்கும் புறைக்கூலி கூட நெ-

1. The inscription is unfinished.

2. This gap may be filled up with the syllables புவகை.

**Translation.**

Hail ! Prosperity ! In the month of Makara of the year when Jupiter had entered and stood in Makara, on the occasion when Rānajiñabhaṭārar Tiruvaḍi was pleased to remain in the *maṇḍapa* of the southern enclosure of the Mitrānandapuram (*temple*), Dēvaṇ Chakrāyudaṇ of Piraśāna-Saṅkaramaṅgalam, [whose lands fell under the class of double crop], (*gave*) for the daily expense of sacred offerings and *namaskāram* (*to be prepared out of*) four *nāḷi* of good rice, (*as measured*) by the temple measure, to the god Dakṣiṇasvarṇamukai-Bhaṭārar, the *rakṣābhōga* (*i. e. the owner's share*),- *viz.* (*one*) hundred and twenty *paraḷ* of good paddy derived every year from all kinds of lands (*that were*) under his protection, together with twelve *paraḷ* of paddy every year for (*supplying*), twice daily, vegetables, two *kaḷaṇḷu* of tamarind, salt, pepper and leaves, (*which were*) required for the *namaskāram* and offering,—(*altogether making*) a total of (*one*) hundred and thirty-two *paraḷ* of paddy, realised in the two crops, inclusive of *purakkūḷi*.

**No. 5— Mitrānandapuram Inscription of Kollam 660.**

This inscription, which is engraved in the Vatteḷuttu alphabet on the south wall of the central shrine of the Viṣṇu temple at Mitrānandapuram, at the left of entrance, refers to the repairs executed in the temple, the consecration of the image and of covering the pinnacle with copper. All these are stated to have been done in Kollam 660 (= A. D. 1486) by the disciple of Yādavēndrānubhūti-Bhaṭārar and certain others. Among the places mentioned in the inscription, Kuḷikkōḍu may be identified with a village of that name in the Kalkuḷam Taluk; and Kaṇḍiyūr is in Māvallikkarai. The name Piḷadiśuvaran seems to be a dialectic corruption of Bṛihadīśvaran.

**Text.**

1. ஸௌ[சு] [11\*]<sup>1</sup> கொல்லம் சுளசுய-தாமாண்டு விரிச்சிக வியாழம் மீன  
ஞாயிற்றில் [கண்டியூர்] ஸ்ரீயாடிவெந்தி-
2. ரானுபூதிப்படாரார் திருவடி இருந்நருளியெடத்திள் ஸிஷ்யன் குழித்  
[சு]காட்டு நாகச்சவாமிதெவரும் ஒழிஞ்ஞநம்பி ப-
3. வித்திரங்காழி பிழ[தி]சுவரனும் கணக்கு நாராயணனிராகவனும் கூட  
திருப்பணி செய்யிச்சு கலச-
4. மாட்டிச்சிது செம்பு<sup>2</sup> மேயிச்சு

**Translation.**

Hail ! In the month of Mīnam of the Kollam year 660 (when) Jupiter (*was in*) Vṛiśchika, and in the presence of Śrī-Yādavēndrānubhūti-Bhaṭārar-Tiruvāḍi of Kaṇḍiyūr, his disciple Nāgasvāmidēva of Kuḷikkōḍ, Oḷiñṇanambi Pavitrāṇkāḷi Piḷadiśuvaran, the accountant Nārāyaṇaṇ Rāghavaṇ, together made repairs and bathed (*the image*) with pots of water (*i. e. consecrated it*) and (*had the pinnacle*) covered with copper.

1. Read ஸ ஸி  
வ த்

2. There is some vacant space between this word and the previous one.

### No. 6.— Mitranandapuram Inscription of Manikantha Ramavarman.

This inscription is engraved in the Vaṭṭeḷuttu characters on the south outer face of the yāli-stone, to the left of the steps, at the entrance into the Viṣṇu shrine of Mitranandapuram. It is a record of the Vēṇāḍu king Maṇikaṇṭha Rāma-varman and is dated in the first day of Kumbham of the year in which Jupiter was in Karkāṭaka-rāśi *i. e.* in the zenith of its power. That the king mentioned in this epigraph is none other than Vīra-Rāma-varman of the Vellāyaṇi inscription is proved beyond all doubt by the fact that Gōvindaṇ Kumaraṇ of Paṭṭāḷi, Vikki-ramaṇ Parannaṇ of Puṇalūr and Kaṇḍaṇ Udayaṇaṇ of Kaitaivāy figure in both the records, the first two as witnesses and the last as the writer of the document. The full name of the king may have been Vīramaṇikaṇṭha Rāma-varman. The palaeography of the records does not militate against this identification. For that same reason, the inscription must be assigned to Kollam 371 when Jupiter was in Karkāṭaka. And since by calculation it has been found that 24th Mēḍam of that year fell in 16th April A. D. 1196, the day of execution of the subjoined deed may be 23rd or 24th January 1196. It will be pointed out later on that the inscription in the Gōśāla Kṛiṣṇa shrine at Trivandrum, which registers a gift by Āḍityarāmaṇ of Marudamaṇ, is dated in the month of Dhanus of the same year, and that Kaṇḍaṇ Udayaṇaṇ figures as the writer of that deed also. There should thus have intervened only a month *i. e.* Makaram, and perhaps a few days in Dhanus, between that record and the subjoined one. At the time when the Gōśāla record was incised, the reigning king of Vēṇāḍu was Kōḍai Mārtāṇḍavarman. It is thus clear that Maṇikaṇṭha-Rāma-varman, also called Vīra-Rāma-varman, and whose full name should be Vīra-Maṇikaṇṭha-Rāma-varman, should have succeeded Mārtāṇḍavarman on the throne of Vēṇāḍu in December 1195 or January 1196 A. D.

#### Text.

1. ஸ்ரீ ஸ்ரீ [11\*] கர்கடகவ்-
2. வியா[ழ]த்தில்க் கும்-
3. பஞாயிறு க சென்ற நாள் மி-
4. த்திரானந்தபுரத்து தெக்கி-
5. ன் சுற்றுமண்டபத்தில் ஸ்ரீ-ஹ்-
6. ஸ்ரீ ஜாஹடார் திருவடி இரு-
7. ந்நருளியெடத்து மித்திரானந்த-
8. புரத்து பட்டாசகர் நியதி இரட்-
9. டையால் நானாழி செய்தரி திருவ்-
10. [மி]ர்து செய்தருளுவான் வெணாட்ட[டி]-
11. கள் மணிகண்ட ராமவர்[ம்]ம[ர்] அம்-
12. ச்ச பூமி [11\*] மருதத்தூர் வெள்ளறை வீ-
13. [ரு]த்தியில் அஞ்சொன்று மெலொ[டி]<sup>2</sup>

1. ி looks like ரு in the original. There seems to have been some corrections made in this line.  
 2. டி is corrected from டு.

14. [பெரு]ந் நெல்லும் கொடுகாமண்ணு-
15. [ம் பெ]ருமண்ணும் விலெநிலத்தொடி-
16. ய பு[ரையிட]ங்ஙள் முன்றின்னும் மெ-
17. லப்பாதி திருவத்தி[ய]னு கொள்ளுந் நெல் நால்க்கலமும் செ . . .<sup>1</sup>
18. முந்தி நென்மலிமங்ங[ல]த்து பூமி[மெல்] கொள்ளும் பாட்ட
19. நெல் முப்பது பறயும்<sup>2</sup> கூடக்கைக்கொண்டு செலவு முட்டா[தெ]  
வைப்-
20. பிச்சு[ச] திருப்பரிகலமு மெடுத்துக்கொண்டு ஐக்கணமெரு.....
21. ...ஞ்ஞலத்தியுமிடுவது மித்திரானந்தபுரத்து வைஷ்ணவன்
22. ராகவநாராயணன் தந்ததி ஸ்ரவேசமே ஆசன்தாரவால்[II\*]இது
23. ஓராண்டு முட்டுகில் முட்டிரட்டி[II\*]இரண்டாண்டு முட்டுகில் முட்டிரட்டி-
24. டி[யு]ந் தண்டமும்[II\*]முவாண்டு முட்டுகில் இட்-
25. பூமியும் புரயிடமும் ஸ்ரீகாரியஞ் செய்யுமவ[ர]-
26. [ள் கையில்] இக்காராண்கூறு [ஐடி] ராகவ நாராயணன்
27. அதிகரிச்ச செலவு செலுத்துவிது[II\*]பட்டாழிக்-
28. கொவிர்த்தம் குமரனும் அறியும்[II\*]புனலூரி வி-
29. க்கிரமன் பரநவனும் அறியும்[II\*]இது கைதவாய்-
30. க்கண்டன உத-
31. யனன் எழுத்து.[II\*]

### Translation.

Hail! Prosperity! On the 1st day, expired, of the month of Kumbha, when Jupiter was in Karkātaka, Brahmāprajña-Bhātārār-Tiruvāḍi being pleased to remain in the southern enclosure of (*the temple of*) Mitrānandapuram, the Vēṇāḍu king Maṇikantha Rāmanavarman gave the (*following*) lands in order that sacred offerings with four *nāḷi* of good rice (as measured) by the temple measure may be made twice daily, to the god at Mitrānandapuram. Having received on hand the income in paddy, of one in five, arising from (*the land*) Vellaraivirutti in Marudattūr together with half the income from Koḍugāman, Peruman and the three gardens attached to the Vilenilam as well as the four *kalam* of paddy set apart for the recitation of the sacred Vēdas (*tiruvadyayana*), and the thirty *paraḷ* of paddy which is the *pāṭṭam* to be obtained on the lands in Sēmpalundi-Nēṇṇalimaṅgalam, the *Vaiṣṇava* Rāgava-Nārāyaṇan of Mitrānandapuram and his descendants shall, as long as the moon and the stars (*endure*), see that the expences (*of the temple*) are met without any default, the sacred vessels are provided.....  
.....Dakṣiṇamēru. ....If this (*arrangement*) failed in (*any*) one year, double the default (*should be paid*); if it failed in two years, double the default and fine (*should be paid*): and if it failed in three years, the said Rāghava-Nārāyaṇan, who was appointed to look after the cultivation, should pay an excess amount into the hands of the persons who manage the business of the said temple lands and gardens. Gōvindaṇ Kumaraṇ of Paṭṭālī knows this. Vikkīraṇa Paraṇṇavaṇ of Pūnalūr knows this. This is the signature of Kaṇḍaṇ Uḍaiyaṇaṇ of Kaitavāy.

1 The last two letters may be ம்ப.

2 Read பறையும்.

## No. 7.—On the yali-stone in the Vishnu shrine.

This inscription, which is engraved in the Vaṭṭeḷuttu alphabet of the 9th or 10th century A. D., on the yāli-stone at the entrance into the Vishnu temple at Mitrānandapuram, registers a gift made to the god, for offerings, by a merchant of Tirukkōḷūr in Tiruvalūdi-vaḷnādu, named Puḡaḷi Śelvaṇ *alias* Tiruvālavāyil Daṇṇma-Ṣeṭṭi. The land Perunīr, whose income was granted to the temple, and the village Idamalai in which it was situated, figure in the Mitrānandapuram copper-plates, edited above. Tirukkōḷūr in Tiruvalūdi-vaḷanādu, of which the donor was the native, is perhaps identical with Tirukkaḷūr in the Tiruchchendur Taluk of the Tinnevely district. It is reputed, in Vaishṇava traditions, as the birth place of Madhurakavi-Ālvār; and it is worth noting that one of the remote ancestors of Nammālvār was, according to the same tradition, called Tiruvalūdi-vaḷanāḍar after the division in which Tirukkōḷūr was situated. Ālvār-Tirunagari, the birth place of Nammālvār, may also be said to be situated in the same ancient territorial division.

## Text.

1. ஸ்ஷீழ் [1 \*] திருவழுதிவளநாட்டுத் திருக்கொனூர் வியாபாரி புகழி செ  
ல்வன்னுன திருவாலவாயி-
2. ல் தன்மசெட்டி மித்திரானந்தபுரத்துப்<sup>1</sup> பெருமானுக்கு நாளமிர்துக்கு தி  
ருமடைப்பள்ளி-
3. யால்<sup>2</sup> இருநாழிச் செய்து ஆரி செல்வது இடைமலைப் பெருநிராகின்ற  
புமி . . . . .<sup>3</sup> மெல்ப்பா-
4. தியால்
5. பெருநிராகின்ற நிலத்தின் மெல்ப்பாதி

## Translation.

Hail! Prosperity! Puḡaḷi Śelvaṇ *alias* Tiruvālavāyil Daṇṇma-Ṣeṭṭi, a merchant of Tirukkōḷūr, (*assigned*), from the income of Perunīr in Idamalai, two *nāḷi* of good rice (*as measured*) by the temple measure,<sup>4</sup> for the daily offerings of the god (*Perumāḷ*) at Mitrānandapuram. The income of the land called Perunīr.<sup>5</sup>

1 *r* in புரத்து is engraved below the line.

2 In other inscriptions மடையால் is substituted for திருமடைப்பள்ளியால்.

3 Five letters appear to have been written here and erased.

4 On the meaning of மடை see Gundert.

5 This repetition is only to indicate how the last line stands after erasure.

## No. 8.—An odd plate of Tiruvalla.

Among the impressions of the Huzur plates of *Tiruvalla*, taken by the late Mr. Gopinatha Rao and kept in the office, the following estampage was also found. As the inscription contained in it has not been noticed in the paper on the "HUZUR PLATE OF THE VISHNU TEMPLE AT TIRUVALLA", it is edited here separately. As will be seen from the sequel, it is an important record.

This inscription seems to have been engraved on the plate after erasing an earlier record. The forms of the Vaṭṭeḷuttu characters of this inscription show that it is a much later one than the Tiruvalla series. But as the plate is of the same size as the former and as it is found among the Tiruvalla impressions, it is likely that it formed part of that set, perhaps as a fly leaf attached to it.

The language of the inscription may be called the Western dialect of Tamil, much allied to the modern Malayālam. The following forms of words occurring in it are worthy of note in this connection:—

*seyyichecha*, *āvidu*, *oḷḷa*, *kañṇi*, *uḍukkumaḍu*, *ilividu*, *iruppidu*, *oḷividu*, *ūṭṭumaḍu*, *irunnu*, *verrilai-tiṇṇividu*, *irāḱkil*, *avaral*, *nāṇāḷichchai*, and *ari*.

As already remarked, '*Paḷārar*' stands for '*Bhaṭārar*' and '*Tiruvaḍi*' is a term applied to *sannyāsins*, gods and kings.

The interchange of *śa* and *ta* and *vice versa* is quite common to Vaṭṭeḷuttu epigraphs. *Chcha* or *chchai* is an authorised change of *ksha*; of. *pichchai* for *bhikshā*. For a similar change of *kshi* into *ikki*, we might cite *tāḷḱki* which stands for *sākshi*. *Māḍai* is an altered form of *maḍai* which stands for cooked rice. *Avaral* stands for *avargal*.

The object of the inscription is to regulate the conduct of priests performing worship in temples. Evidently, the record aims at reforming certain bad practices prevalent among that class of servants, such as wearing gruelled cloth: not having *pavitrās*; feeding persons who had not been following the ancient routine or custom; not offering to the deity rice with ghee, flower and sandal-paste: and chewing beatel-leaves in the presense of the Bhaṭārar-Tiruvaḍi, by which term may be meant either the god or the *sannyāsin Nirañṇapādā-Bhaṭārar*.

*Kāṇam*, which occurs in line 6, is a gold coin that had been in use in early times. We find it so employed in '*Paḍirruppattu*'<sup>1</sup> and other ancient Tamil works as well as in early inscriptions.<sup>2</sup>

Of etymological interest is the word *kīḷiyakkam*, which occurs in lines 2 and 3 of this inscription. The term is not in current use. Neither is it to be found in Tamil or Malayālam lexicons. Search for it in some of the ancient Tamil works has proved vain. It is one of those obsolete words employed in inscriptions whose meaning remains yet to be made out. The word appears to be a compound of *kīḷ* and *iyakkam*. *Iyakkam* is the verbal noun derived from *iyaṅgu* or *iyakku*. *Nāḍai* or *āchāram* of other inscriptions will be proper equivalents of it. The prefix *kīḷ*

1 *Historical Sketches of Ancient Dekkan*, p. 378f.

2 P. 23. of the Travancore Archæological Series Vol. II



seems to be used in the sense of 'past' and as such the compound *kīḷiyakkam* should be taken to mean 'the ancient practice'. *Pūrvāchāram* may be regarded as its synonym. It is interesting to note that, besides indicating the course of action of persons as in our record, the word was also used to denote the customary dues or incomes accruing from lands.

The following passage taken from an unpublished epigraph,<sup>1</sup> will show this use of the word *kīḷiyakkam*. It will be particularly noted that the inscription expressly includes under *kīḷiyakkam* certain specified and unspecified dues such as *ottidarkadamai*, *urvi*, *vēy-nel*, etc which, we may observe, were customarily paid by cultivators:—

அதிகாரர்க்கு ஒள்ள தென்னாட்டில் \* \* \* \* \* முத்தலைக்குறிச்சி  
ஸ்ரீவீரகௌ ஈச்சவரத்து மாதெவர்க்குச் செலவின்னும் திருநந்தாவிளக்கின்னும் எழுதி  
விட்டுக் கொடுத்தார் அமைந்த அதிகாரர்[II\*] இத்தேசத்து கிழியக்கம் ஒட்டிதற்கடமை  
யும் உவ்வியும் வெய்நெல்லும் அழகெருதும் \* \* \* \* \* கூட விட்டுக் கொடுத்தார்  
அமைந்த அதிகாரர்[II\*] இவ்வண்ணமே இத்தேசத்து திருவிதான்கோட்டு மாதெவர்  
க்கும் பரக்கொட்டு தெவர்க்கும் பகவதிக்கும் கிழியக்கம் ஒள்ளது நீங்கலாக ஒள்ள ஒட்டி  
தற் கடமையும் \* \* \* \* \* ஆசந்திரதாரவல் வீரகௌ ஈச்சவரத்து மாதெ  
வர்க்கு செலவின்னும் \* \* \* \* \* அறியும் தாழ்க்கி புலவர்மண் சாத்தன் ம  
ணியன்

### TEXT.

1. ஸ்ரீவி ஸ்ரீ[.I\*] நிரஞ்ஞாபாதாபழா[ர்\*] திருவடி செய்யிச்ச சிரிகாரிய  
மாவிது[II\*] அகத்தொள்ள யெம்பெரு-
2. மக்கள் செய்யு[ம்\*] கிழியக்கமாவிது[II\*] கஞ்ஞிப்புடவை என்று உடுக்கு  
மது இழிவிது<sup>2</sup>[.I\*] பவி-
3. த்திர[ம்\*] இட்டிருப்பிது[.I\*] கிழியக்கமில்லாதவர்களை மடத்திலிருந்து  
ஊட்டுமது
4. ஒழிவிது[.I\*] அகத்து நெய் மாடைய் பூவாகிலு[ம்\*] சந்தனமாகிலு[ம்\*]  
வச்சிருந்து ஆ[ரா]தி-
5. ரா தொழிவிது<sup>3</sup>[II\*] பழா[ர்\*] திருவடி முன்பு வெற்றிலை தின்னுவது  
ஒழிவிது[II\*] இ[வ்\*]வண்ண[ம்] இரா-
6. க்கில் மெல்சாந்தி எம்பெருமக்கள் இருபத்துநாலு காணம் பொன்(ந்)<sup>4</sup> த  
ண்ட[ம்\*][II\*] மற்றொள்ளவரள்
7. இருபத்து நானாழிச்சை அரி தண்ட[ம்]<sup>5</sup> [II\*]

1 This record is dated in Kollam 491. Prof. Sundaram Pillai has translated it in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXIV. p. 334 f.

2 This word may have to be corrected into ஒழிவிது as in lines 4 and 5. If not so corrected, it must be translated as "dropped".

3 Read ஆராதியாதொழிவிது.

4 Delete the last க்.

5 ம் is engraved like an anusvara.



### Translation.

Hail! Prosperity! This sacred arrangement was made by Niraññapādā-Bhaṭṭārar-Tiruvāḍi. The following practices (*shall be adopted*) by the greatmen of (*i. e. attached to*) the inner (*shrine*). The wearing of cloths (*under the pretext that they are dipped in*) gruel must cease. *Pavitrām* shall be worn. In the *maṭha*, the feeding of persons, who do not follow the ancient practice, must cease. In the inner (*shrine*), worship shall not be made without the offering of boiled rice with ghee, flower and sandal-paste. The chewing of betel-leaves in the presence of the Bhaṭṭārar-Tiruvāḍi shall stop. If the greatmen of the *mēlsānti* (*i. e. those who conduct worship in temples*) do not observe these (rules), they (*shall be liable to*) a fine of twenty-four *kāṇam* of gold; and the other persons, who do not follow the same, shall be liable to pay a fine of twenty-four *nāḷi* of good rice.

### <sup>1</sup> No. 9.—Vellani Inscription of Vira-Ramavarman: Kollam 371.

On the south bank of the back-water (*kāyal*) near the village of Vellāyani, (sometimes pronounced as Vellāni,) in the Neyyāttinkarai Taluk, is an old Viṣṇu temple, quite neglected and fast going to decay. It faces the west and bears an inscription on the base of the south wall of its *maṇḍapa*. I secured an inked estampage of it, and it is reproduced as plate facing page 6. The temple is called at present Tirukulaṅgarai, which is evidently a corruption of Tirukupakarai, the name given to it in the inscription. As in most other cases, the walls of the central shrine of this temple are built of what is popularly known as *manṇaikkal*, a kind of gravel-like stone. The god in this temple is in standing posture, has four hands, the back two of which hold the conch and the discus. While the left front hand rests freely on a *gada*—a feature seldom observed in the case of Viṣṇu enshrined in temples—the corresponding right hand shows the *varada-mudra* pose.

The inscription is in a tolerably good state of preservation and is engraved in the Vaṭṭeluttu alphabet and in the Tamiḷ language (western dialect).. Along with the Tamiḷ grammatical forms *vāḷṇḍarūḷukiṇṇa adikāraruḍaiya, paṭṭāra-karkku, etc.*, the following peculiarities also occur:—*āvidu* for *āvaḍu*; *varuvidu* for *varuwaḍu*; *āḷvāṇṇu, viḷakkīṇṇu* and *śelaviṇṇu* for *āḷvāṇukku, viḷakkīṇukku* and *śelavukku*; *śeyyiṇṇavarai* for *śeykiṇṇavarakai*; *kalppichchu, adikarichchu* and *sey-yichchu* for *kalppittu, adikarittu* and *seyvittu*; *oḷḷa* for *uḷḷa*; *mutṭukil* for *mutṭiṇāl*; *tuḍai* for *taḍavai*; *ārāḷchcha* for *arāyehchi*; *tāḷkki* for *sākshi*; <sup>1</sup> and *Parannavaṇ* for *Parantapan*. *Neyyēṇnai* is used in the sense of liquid ghee.

The inscription is dated in the reign of the Vēṇāḍu king Vīra-Rāmavarman and in the Kollam year 371 (= A. D. 1196), the month Mēsha, and the 24th solar day, expired. M. R. Ry. Dewan Bahadur L. D. Swamikkannu Pillai, to whom I submitted the date for verification, notes:—

1 On the changes assumed by this word see No. 33, below.

"= Tuesday, 16th April A. D. 1196 when Jupiter was in Karkāṭaka: for want of week-day, however, we cannot be certain whether the day intended is Tuesday 16th April or Wednesday 17th April: in other words whether the suffix "expired" is expletive or significant".

The inscription registers a gift made by the officers of the king, to the Vishnu temple called Tirukkuṇakaraī *alias* Yādavanārāyaṇa-Viṇṇagar-Ālvār at Śeṅkōṭṭāru-Chērikkal, for the expenses of offering daily four *nāḷi* of rice and for burning a sacred lamp. Reference is incidentally made to a temple at Poliyūr, a body of six hundred men of Vēṇāḍu and to the *Valaṇṇiyar* of the eighteen districts, who are required to manage the gift, in case the person entrusted with the property made default for the third time. It is interesting to note that the record is careful to mention even the insignificant item of thread to be supplied for the wick of the lamp. The quantity of paddy to be given is stated to be exclusive of *parakkūli* by which term is perhaps meant the incidental charges to be incurred in taking the paddy to the court-yard of the temple where it has to be measured and handed over to the temple authorities. Other inscriptions definitely mention that such charges as the carriage hire, tolls and terry dues, required for transporting the paddy from the thrashing ground to the temple court-yard, where it has to be measured out free, from chaff, dust and unripe grains, must be borne by the person in charge of the land, i. e. the cultivator, and that the stipulated quantity of paddy should be given in heaped measures. The Tiruvaṭṭāru inscription of Vīra-Udaiya-Mārtāṇḍavarman<sup>1</sup> refers to such a custom which obtained in early days, in these words:—"*poliyāl Kōdainallūr kīlachchēri-ttirukkōṇṇikkal koṇḍuvandu unanni umi-pōkku pūvaḷi, etc*". It means that at each harvest the interest paddy should be brought to the precincts of the Kīlachchēri temple at Kōdainallūr, dried and measured without any husk.

Of the places mentioned in the inscription, Paṭṭāli and Puṇalūr are villages in the Pattanapuram Taluk. Poliyūr, whose temple is mentioned in our inscription, seems to have been a place of importance in early times. Its identity with Polisūl-nāḍu, which figures in the Huzur plates of Karuṇandaḍakkaṇ, is, however, open to question. That Poliyūr is not the modern form of Polisūl is evident from the fact that the former name occurs in early records. A Vaṭṭeluttu inscription of about the tenth century A. D., belonging to the time of the early Pāṇḍya king Vīra-Pāṇḍya, engraved on the rock near the Kailāsa shrine at Suchīndram, mentions both Poliyūr and Poliyūr-nāḍu, thus setting at rest any doubt that might arise as regards the early form of it. And in this connection we may state that there is a village called Chūlanāḍu in the Neyyāttinkara Taluk, in Ōttaśēkharamaṅgalam Pukuthy, which might be regarded as a remnant of Polisūl-nāḍu. From the Suchīndram inscription referred to here we learn further that

1 In the published reading of this inscription (above, p. 296) I would fill up the first gap in l. 1 by "உச-செ"; read இளங்குறு instead of இளங்குடை; குழுமை in place of கு . மை; replace செதியகடைக்குட்டப்பெறையும் ..... மாத்தறையும் . . . by செதியகறுக்கட்டப்பெறையும் தடியையும் மாத்தறையும் தடியும் தடி and instead of "உணங்கி உச . . க்கு [ஆ] வழி; have உணங்கி உமிபோக்கு புவழி."

Poliyūr was the native place of the chief Śērāntaka Pallavaraiyaṇ *alias* Māraṇ-Āchchaṇ who made a gift of money for burning a lamp in the central shrine of the Tiruchchivīndirattu-Bhaṭāra. Śēnkōḍu is the name of that part of Vallāyaṇi which is not far away from the Viṣṇu temple: and it is not unlikely that the exact site, where the temple is located, formed in ancient times a suburb (*chēri*) of Śēnkōḍu.

From the subjoined inscription it is not possible to say who the Vaḷaṇḱiyas were that were entrusted with the care of the charitable endowment registered in it. But from allied records<sup>1</sup> of the Tamil and Kanarese districts, we learn that these Vaḷaṇḱiyas were members of merchant guilds and belonged to eighteen countries, which, however, are not specifically named; that they were sometimes required to supervise, maintain or protect gifts made to temples and other charitable institutions; and that they had influence and authority over large areas, probably on account of the wealth they possessed and owing to their trade relations. It is worthy of note that the inscriptions which refer to them are written in mixed characters consisting of Tamil, Grantha, Malayālam and Vaṭṭeḷuttu letters, and the language employed is the Western dialect of Tamil, with such peculiarities of forms as are mostly to be seen in the inscriptions of the west coast. Among the communities, that figure in these inscriptions along with the Vaḷaṇḱiyas, may be mentioned a class of people called "*the arm-bearing Thousands*" who are again comparable with the army of the right-hand *Vēḷaikkāras* occurring in the inscriptions of the Chōḷa kings Rājarāja and Rājendra Chōḷa<sup>2</sup>.

The phrase "வேண்டாதுதாற்றுவரும்" which occurs in lines 2 and 7, is similar to "நன்னுழைநாடுவாழும்வர முந்தாற்றுவரும்"<sup>3</sup>, "அதுதாற்றுவரும்" "அஞ்சுவண்ணமும் மணிக்கிராமமும்"<sup>4</sup> "திருவெள்ளறை மூவாயிரத்தெழுதாற்றுவரும்"<sup>5</sup> "தில்லை மூவாயிரவர்" "நாற்பத்தெண்ணாயிரவர்" *etc.* In all these cases, the numbers cannot be taken to prove the existence of political assemblies consisting of as many members<sup>6</sup>. It has been shown elsewhere that the figures must refer to the number of persons who originally colonised the particular tracts with whose names they are mentioned: and that every descendant of theirs was entitled to being called one of the clan or body.<sup>7</sup>

### Text.

1. ஸ்ரீ ஸ்ரீ ஸ்ரீ<sup>8</sup> [||\*] கர்க்கடகத்தில் வியாழந் நின்ற யாண்டு கொல்லம் நாளெக-  
மாண்டை மெடஞாயிது உவச சென்ற நாளச் செய்த காரியமாவிது [||\*]

- 1 Mr. Rice's *Courog Inscriptions*, p. 19 and foot-note 2.
- 2 *Ibid.*, pp. 19-20 and *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. II. p. (10).
- 3 *Travancore Archaeological Series*, Vol. II. p. 23.
- 4 *Ibid.*, pp. 80 and 81.
- 5 *Ep. Ind.* Vol. X. p. 158 and note.
- 6 *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXIV. p. 284. and Mr. Nagamayya's *Travancore State Manual*, Vol. I. p. 255. It is beyond comprehension that villages, however big they might have been, could ever have had such unwieldy assemblies as 3700, 3000 and 48,000.
- 7 An accountant of Māmallapuram in the 10th century A. D. called himself 'one of the 3700 of Tiruveḷḷarai.'
- 8 The syllables ஸ்ரீ ஸ்ரீ ஸ்ரீ are entered on the left margin of the inscription.

- வெண்டு வாழ்நதருளுக[ன]ற ஸ்ரீ வீரராமவர்மம் திருவடிகமஞ்ச  
அதிகாரருடைய செங்கொட்டாறு
2. செரிக்கல திருக்கு[ணக]ரை [ஆயி]ன யாதவநாராயண விண்ணகா ஆழ  
வானனு செலவுந் திருநந்தாவிளக்கின்னும் எழுதி நிரோடுமடடிககொ  
தெதார் அதிகாரர்[11\*] இக்காலம் முதலாய் இச்செரிககல வெணுட்ட  
றுதூற்றுவரும் [ப]ணி-
  3. செய்யின்றவரளுங் காரியஞ் செய்யின்றவரளும் மனுச்சசமாப்த திருக்கு  
ணகரைச் செலவு செலுத்தமவன் பொழி[யூ]ரப் பட்டாரகாக்கு செல  
வின்னு முன்னம் அதிகாரா கலப்பிச்சு விட்டு கொடுத்த நிலந நிககி ஒ  
ளளதெப்[பெ]ரப்-
  4. பட்டதும் கூட அதிகரிச்ச[சு] கொண்டு நியதம் மடையால் நாநாழிச்செய்  
தரி திருவமிரதுஞ் செய்யிச்சு ஒரொ திருநந்தாவிளககுஞ் செலுத்திவ  
ருவிது[11\*] நியதம் அமிரது செய்யும் அரிமடை நாநாழிககும் புறைக  
கூலி நி[ககி] ஆ-
  5. ண்டுவர வெண்டுந நெல் 1க்காலால் இருபத்து நால்ககலமுந திருநந்தாவி  
ளககு ஒன்றினு வெண்டுந நெய்யெண்ணயுந திரிநூலும் முட்டாதெ  
[11\*] செங்கொட்டாற்று மேலுங் கிழுமொள்ள நி  
ல, தல, [11\*] ம் காரர்[ண்] நில-
  6. ததிலக் கொள்ளும் மெலப்பாதி[யு]ங் காடுங் கரைப்புரயிடமும் ஆளும் மி  
க்கு எப்பொப்பட்டிதுங் கூட அதிகரிச்சு கொண்டு செலவும முட்டா  
தெ செலுத்துவிது[11\*] இது ஒருதுடை முட்டுகில் முட்டிரட்டி[11\*] இ  
ரண்டு துடை முட்டுகில் முட்டிரட்டியுந [த]ண்ட-
  7. மும்[11\*], மூன்று துடை முட்டுகில் அ[றுதூ]ற்றுவரும் பணி செய்யின்றவ  
[ர]ளும் பதினெட்டிராஜித்தில [வ]ளஞ்சியரும் ஆராழ்ச்சபண்ணி ஆ  
சுந்தராவல் முட்டாதெ செலுத்துவிது[11\*] இச்செரிககல நாலெல்ல  
அகப்படத தோரணமுந் நாட்டித திருவிடையாட்டமாகச செலலு  
மாறு
  8. கலப்பிச்செடத் தறியுந தாழககி கொக்கொப்பறப்பில கண்டன் கண்ட  
னும் அறியும் தானமண்கொட்டதது கெரளஞ் சுவரனும் அறியும் புன  
லாரி விக்கிரமன் பரநநவனும் அறியும் பட்டாழிக் கோவிந்தநகுமரனும்  
அறியும் இப்படிக் கிவை கைதவாய்க க[ண்]டன
  9. உத[ய]னன் எழுத்து [11\*]

### Translation.

Hail! Prosperity! The following is the business transacted on the 24th (solar) day, expired, of the month of Mēsha in the Kollam year 371, the year in which Jupiter stood in Karkāṭaka:—

The officers (*adikārar*) wrote (*i. e. executed the document*) and gave with libation of water, for the expenses of, and a sacred lamp to (*the temple of*) Tirukkuna-karai *alias* Yādavanārāyaṇa-Vinnagar-Ālvār at Chērikkal in Śenkōttāru (*which belonged to*) the officers of the glorious Vīra-Rāma-varma-Tiruvadi, who is pleased to rule the country of Vēṇāḍu. From this time forward, the six-hundred of

1 There is a symbol before ககாலால which may be taken for மரககால



Vēṇāḍu, those who execute works or repairs, and those who manage (*the temple*) business, shall, as representatives (*maṇḍūlchham*), see that the person (*entrusted with the duty of*) defraying the expenses of (*the temple of*) Tirukkunakarai, does bring under his management all kinds of lands,—exclusive of (*those*) lands which had been ordered and assigned previously by the officers for the expenses of (*the temple of*) Poliyūr-Bhaṭṭarar,— gets offerings prepared daily with four *nāḷi* of good rice and (*burns*) one sacred lamp. Without (making any) default, he shall supply, exclusive of *purakkūḷi*, twenty-four *kalam* of paddy (*as measured*) by the measure holding ten *nāḷi*, that being the requirement for the whole year for offering daily four *nāḷi* of rice; and (*he shall also give*) liquid ghee and thread for wick, which are required for (*burning*) one sacred lamp. Taking into his possession the *urā*-lands situated to the west and east of Śenkōṭṭārū, the western part of the *kārāḷa* lands together with the forests and *karaippuraiyidam*, and the servants (*attached thereto*) etc., he shall meet the expenses without (*making*) any default. If this (*arrangement*) suffers default once, double (*the quantity at*) default (*shall be paid*). If default is made for a second time, in addition to double the defaulted quantity, a fine also (*shall be paid*). And if default is made for the third time, the six-hundred, those who execute works or repairs, and the Vaḷaṇṇiyar of the eighteen countries shall enquire<sup>1</sup> (*into the matter*) and meet the expenses (themselves), without default, as long as the moon and the stars (endure).

The witnesses who knew (*the transaction*) at the time when it was ordered to be given as a *tiruvīḍaiyāṭṭam* (*i. e. in favour of the temple*), with this Chērikkal decorated with arch-ways within (its) four boundaries, are:—

Kaṇḍaṇ Kaṇḍaṇ of Kōkkōpparappu knows (this);

Kēraḷaṇ Śuvaraṇ of Tāṇamaṇkōḍu knows (this);

Vikkiramaṇ Parannaṇaṇ of Puṇalūr knows (this);

Govindaṇ Kumaraṇ of Paṭṭāḷi knows (this);

Thus was (*this*) written by Kaṇḍaṇ Udayanaṇ of Kaidavāy.

#### No. 10.— On the east wall of the Brahma Shrine at Tiruvallam.

The village of Tiruvallam is situated at the confluence of the two rivers Killiyār and Karamanai, and is about four miles to the south of Trivandrum. It forms one of the Pakuthies of the Neyyāttinkarai Taluk of the Trivandrum division, and is famous for its temple. A spacious compound, enclosed on all sides by two *prākāra* walls of stone, is appropriated for this temple. The shrines found within the inner *prākāra* are those of Paraśurāma, Brahma, Śiva and Matsya. Of these, the first three are in a row on the south side, from west to east. The shrine of Paraśurāma, which faces the north, is built entirely of granite stone from the foundation to the ceiling, with a *vimāna* of less hard material. It is provided with a pinnacle at its top. The shrine is round and has a rectangular *maṇḍapa* in front. There is not much of sculpture or ornamentation. A row of Bhūtagaṇas or goblins, another of animals— elephants, lion and the like— and a third

1. *Āṇḍalai* means 'enquiry'. Since these persons are required to defray the expenses, it may be presumed that the lands were left under their management.



panel of miniature floral works, with bearded faces of men carved in the convolutions, adorn the building at its top. The first two run all round the shrine and the *maṇḍapa*, while the last forms the top belt of the rectangular *maṇḍapa* alone. Though there are no inscriptions on this shrine, yet judging only from its architecture, it can be assigned to the 13th century A. D. The niches on the east, south and west walls, one on each side, accommodate minor deities. The image of Paraśurāma is shaped in the *ardhachitra* fashion. It has four hands in two of which the conch and discus are held; the weapons *paraśu* and *hala*, which the deity is said to have, are hardly distinguishable. On the other hand, the weapon in the front right hand looks like a *gadā*. The shrine of Brahmā, also facing the north, is built of dressed granite as far as the superstructure which is of brittle laterite stone. It is rectangular in shape without any pretensions to either sculpture or ornamentation. The image of Brahmā has four heads and four hands. It is seated in the Padmāsana posture; and on the pedestal, the petals of lotus are worked. *Kamaṇḍalu i. e.* a vessel with a spout, and an open lotus flower are seen in two of the hands, while the other two are in the *yōgamudra* pose. At the base of the west wall are two inscriptions in the Vaṭṭeḷuttu alphabet and they are edited below. There is another epigraph on the base of the east wall in the Vaṭṭeḷuttu characters and its contents are noticed in Volume I, pp. 295 ff. In the published edition we have, however, to correct some mistakes. First of all, it has to be noted that the position of the inscription is not the north wall but the base of the east wall. In the reading of the text given on page 296, we have to fill up the gap in line 1 with the letters *ய சென்ற*; correct *மடத்து சக்கி* in line 3 into *மாடத்து சாக்கி*; read *திருவமு* for *திருவமி* in line 5; fill up the first gap in line 6 with *மடை ஓ*; alter *தலவாரம்* into *தலவாரம்* and in place of the second gap insert *ரு*; replace the first few dots in line 7 by *மடை ஈ-ழி*, and the second set of dots by *நெல் க-ம்*. The gap in line 8 has to be replaced by *மடை உ-ழி*; and those in line 9 by *நெல் க-ழி*. In the abstract of contents, “*Sōmavāra*”, which is given as the rendering of *திங்கள் தோறும்* must be corrected into ‘every month’; and substitute ‘*rāśi*’ for ‘constellation’; alter “*Śakki Tiruvandi of the maṭha*” into “*Śakki Tiruvāṇḍi of Māḍam*” and change “gave some paddy” into “ordered the incurring of certain expenses”. The words ‘Hail! Prosperity!’ must be added at the commencement.

A revised text and translation are given on page 39, below.

As regards the Śiva temple, it may be noted that the outer *prākāra* wall is circular in shape, while the inner shrine, which contains the *linga*, is rectangular. Some space is left between the outer and inner walls to admit of *pradakṣiṇam* or circumambulation. Each of the sides of this inner shrine is provided with two pillars. The basement of the *prākāra* wall is made of stone but the superstructure and the entire shrine are of laterite. There are small wooden windows shaped in the form of the coils of a snake. There are no inscriptions. The shrine is covered over by a thatched roof made in the form of a spread out umbrella.

In front of the principal shrine of Paraśurāma, but separated from it, there is a spacious *namaskāra-maṇḍapa*. To the east of this is a kitchen with a stone well; and behind them is the shrine of Matsya-mūrti. There are no inscriptions in any of these buildings.

Outside of the inner *prākāra* walls, there are two *dhvajastambhas*, one set up in front of the Śiva shrine and the other just opposit to the shrine of Paraśurāma.

The shrine of Gaṇapati is located to the east of the second *dvajastambha*, while that of Kṛishṇa is on the south-west corner.

Shrines of Paraśurāma and Brahmā are rarely to be seen in the temple of the Madras Presidency. The only one to the latter deity that is known so far is in the temple of Bhikshāṇḍār in the Trichinapoly district. We know of none dedicated to Paraśurāma, though there is a Śiva temple called Paraśurāmeśvara at Guḍimallam in the North Arcot district which contains a Śiva liṅga. Owing to this circumstance, the Tiruvallam temple is of importance. Offering of *bālī* to the dead at this place, on the occasion of the full-moon and new-moon days, is considered very meritorious and crowds of people, belonging specially to the Nāyar community, go there for the purpose.

The further antiquities of Tiruvallam consist of a shrine for Śāstā, erected on a hillock to the east of the Paraśurāma temple; and of some Nāga stones with figures of Kṛishṇa, placed under the shade of the serpent's hood, found under an old tree in the street outside of the temple.

### Text.

1. ஸ்ரீ ஸ்ரீ [11\*] கொல்லம் சாயி உண்டாமாண்டைத் தனுவ வியாழம் மகரஞாயிறு [ய-செ]ன்ற ஞாயி.
2. று இ[ரெ]வதி இந்நாளால் திருவல்லத்து ஸ்ரீமுகமண்டபத்தில்
3. இருந்து செயித செயிகடவொலைக்கரணமாவிது [11\*] மாடத்து சாக்கி திருவா-
4. ண்டி திருவல்லத்து திங்களமாவா திதொறுஞ் செல்லுமாறு கல்ப்பிச்-
5. ச செலவு [1\*] திருக்கண்ணப்பன்னும் மாதெவன் திருவடிக்குந் திருவழு-
6. ற்தின் னரி மடை றுயுந் [1\*] தலவாரம் றுன்னும் பேர் கன் னரி வெஞ்சனம் உ-
7. ள்ப்பட அரிமடை றுழியும் [1\*] ஆராதிக்குந் நம்பிக்கு நெல் உ<sup>1</sup> கம் [1\*]
8. திங்கள்<sup>2</sup> உவாவின் தொறுஞ் செல்லுமாறு கல்ப்பிச்சரி மடை உயி-ழிக்கு-
9. ந் நெல் உ<sup>1</sup> க-ழிக்கும்

### Translation.

Hail ! Prosperity ! On this day of Revatī (corresponding to) a Sunday, the 10th (*solar day*), expired, of the month of Makara when Jupiter stood in Dhanus (*-rāṣi*), of the Kollam year 412, the (*following*) deed (*enjoining*) what should be performed was made in the sacred front *mandapa* (*of the temple*) at Tiruvallam:— Śākki Tiruvāṇḍi of Māḍam ordered (*the under mentioned*) expenses to be incurred on the new-moon days of each month (in the temple at Tiruvallam).

1. This symbol stands for நெல்.
2. ள் is a correction from some other letter.

panel of miniature floral works, with bearded faces of men carved in the convolutions, adorn the building at its top. The first two run all round the shrine and the *maṇḍapa*, while the last forms the top belt of the rectangular *maṇḍapa* alone. Though there are no inscriptions on this shrine, yet judging only from its architecture, it can be assigned to the 13th century A. D. The niches on the east, south and west walls, one on each side, accommodate minor deities. The image of Paraśurāma is shaped in the *ardhachitra* fashion. It has four hands in two of which the conch and discus are held; the weapons *paraśu* and *kala*, which the deity is said to have, are hardly distinguishable. On the other hand, the weapon in the front right hand looks like a *gadā*. The shrine of Brahmā, also facing the north, is built of dressed granite as far as the superstructure which is of brittle laterite stone. It is rectangular in shape without any pretensions to either sculpture or ornamentation. The image of Brahmā has four heads and four hands. It is seated in the Padmāsana posture; and on the pedestal, the petals of lotus are worked. *Kamaṇḍalu i. e.* a vessel with a spout, and an open lotus flower are seen in two of the hands, while the other two are in the *yōgamudra* pose. At the base of the west wall are two inscriptions in the Vaṭṭeḷuttu alphabet and they are edited below. There is another epigraph on the base of the east wall in the Vaṭṭeḷuttu characters and its contents are noticed in Volume I, pp. 295 ff. In the published edition we have, however, to correct some mistakes. First of all, it has to be noted that the position of the inscription is not the north wall but the base of the east wall. In the reading of the text given on page 296, we have to fill up the gap in line 1 with the letters *ய சென்ற*; correct *மடத்து சக்கி* in line 3 into *மாடத்து சாக்கி*; read *திருவமு* for *திருவமி* in line 5; fill up the first gap in line 6 with *மடை டு*; alter *நெல்லாசம்* into *நெல்லாசம்* and in place of the second gap insert *ரு*; replace the first few dots in line 7 by *மடை ந-ழி*, and the second set of dots by *நெல் க-ம்*. The gap in line 8 has to be replaced by *மடை உ-ழி*; and those in line 9 by *நெல் க-ழி*. In the abstract of contents, “*Sōmavāra*”, which is given as the rendering of *திங்கள் தோறும்* must be corrected into ‘every month’; and substitute ‘*rāśi*’ for ‘constellation’; alter “*Śakki Tiruvandi of the maṭha*” into “*Śakki Tiruvāṇḍi of Māḍam*” and change “gave some paddy” into “ordered the incurring of certain expenses”. The words ‘Hail! Prosperity!’ must be added at the commencement.

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6. ர்தின் னரி மடை நு-யுந் [1\*] தவ்வாரும் நு-ன்னும் பேர் க-ன் னரி வெஞ் சனம் உ-
7. ள்ப்பட அரிமடை நு-ழியும் [1\*] ஆராதிக்குந் நம்பிக்கு நெல் உ<sup>1</sup> க-ம் [1\*]
8. திங்கள்<sup>2</sup> உவாவின்தொறுஞ் செல்லுமாறு கல்ப்பிச்சரி மடை உயி-ழிக்கு-
9. ந் நெல் உ<sup>1</sup> க-ழிக்கும்

### Translation.

Hail ! Prosperity ! On this day of Rēvatī (corresponding to) a Sunday, the 10th (*solar day*), expired, of the month of Makara when Jupiter stood in Dhanus (*-rāṣi*), of the Kollam year 412, the (*following*) deed (enjoining) what should be performed was made in the sacred front *mandapa* (*of the temple*) at Tiruvallam:— Śākki Tiruvāṇḍi of Mādam ordered (*the under mentioned*) expenses to be incurred on the new-moon days of each month (in the temple at Tiruvallam).

1. This symbol stands for நெல்.
2. ள் is a correction from some other letter.

5 *nāḷi* of rice (*as measured*) by the temple measure (*maḍai*),<sup>1</sup> for the sacred offering of Tirukkannappan and Mahādēvaṅ-Tiruvaḍi (*i. e.* Śiva): rice for 5 *namaskāram*,<sup>2</sup> at the rate of 3 *nāḷi* of rice, (*as measured*) by the temple measure (*maḍai*) for 1 person, inclusive of rice and condiment: 1 *nāḷi* of paddy for the *nambi* who performs worship:<sup>3</sup> (*in all*) the expenses ordered to be defrayed on the new-moon days of each month amount to 20 *nāḷi* of rice (*as measured*) by the temple measure and 1 *nāḷi* of paddy.

M. R. Ry. Dewan Bahadur L. D. Swamikkannu Pillai, to whom I sent the date for verification, is kind enough to note that Kollam 412, Jupiter in Dhanu, Makara 10, expired, Sunday, Rēvati, is equivalent to "Sunday, 4th January A. D. 1237. "Rēvati" ended on this day at '88 (53 ghaṭikas); the day of solar month was 11 Makara, so that "expired" in this case is significant in that it adds one to the expressed date (10th). Jupiter was in Dhanu".

#### No. 11.—Tiruvallam Inscription of Virakeralavarman: Kollam 399.

This inscription, dated in the Kollam year 399 (= A. D. 1224), and falling in the reign of the Vēṇāḍu king Virakeralavarman, is engraved on the west base of the Brahmā shrine in the temple at Tiruvallam, a village in the vicinity of Trivandrum. Its preservation is good. The alphabet employed is Vatteḷuttu and the language is Tamil, as spoken in the west coast, with a large admixture of forms peculiar to Malayālam, such as *eḍattu* for *iḍattu*, *kalpichecha* for *kalpitta*, *śārttichechu* for *śātti*, *Kaṇṇappannu* for *Kaṇṇappanukku*, *namaskārattinṇu* for *namaskārattukku* and *oḷḷa* for *uḷḷa*.

*Namaskāram* (11. 3 and 5) is the day-meal given in temples to Brāhmaṇas at the time of offering rice to the god, while *attāḷam* (1. 37) denotes the night meal.

*Vādil* (1. 4) for *vāśal* and *dādar* (1. 6) for *dāsar* furnish instances of the rule that *ta* takes the place of *sa* or *śa*. Compare *tamanchitar* for *samanjita* and *tannadi* for *sannadhi*. In *sōgigal*, which evidently stands for *yōgigal*, we observe the change of *ya* into *śa*. Perhaps its intermediary form was *jōgi* as pronounced in North India. In the Tanjore inscriptions, there figures a *Śōnaka* or *Jōnaka* derived from *Yōnaka* or *Yavana*.<sup>4</sup> The Grantha letters that occur in the inscription are *svasti śrī* (1. 1) and *śrī* (1. 1) *namaskāra* (1. 5) *dāpa* (1. 9) *sabhai* and *chandra* (1. 10).

The inscription registers gift of the jīvita-rights on Nigamam in Teṅga-nāḍu, for offerings to the gods Mahādēva, Tirukkannappan and Gaṇapati. The

1 The full expression used in other inscriptions is திருமடைப்பள்ளி நாழியால் which sometimes occurs in the form மடை நாழியால் and மடையால். *Maḍai* may also be taken in the sense of "cooking".

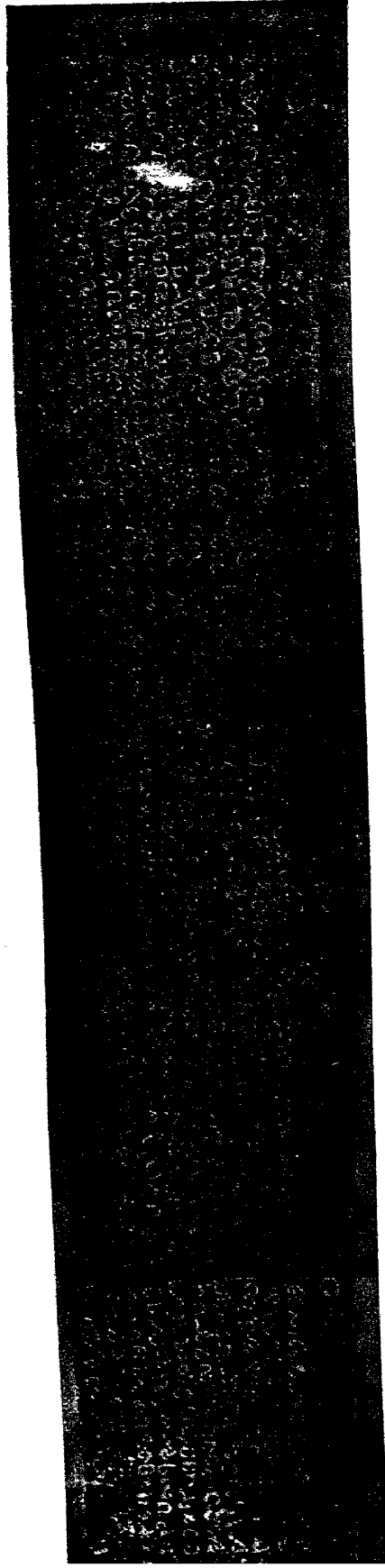
2 *Namaskāram* is the term applied to the feeding of Brahmins in temples at the time of offering rice to the god during day.

3 ஆராதனையும் நம்பி of this inscription corresponds to ஆருகினைசெய்கின்ற நம்பி of another epigraph which is published below.

4 *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. II, Part V, p. 428.

No. 11 TIRUVALLAM INSCRIPTION OF VIRAKERALAVARMAN.  
(to face p. 41)

I. III.



No. 12. TIRUVALLAM INSCRIPTION OF KOLLAM 411  
(to face p. 44)



V. Subrahmanya Aiyer.

privileges included such incomes as *kaḍmai*, *aḷagerudu-ney* and *talaiikkānam*. By *kaḍamai* is meant the assessment on lands: *kaḍan* is the other form in which it occurs in inscriptions. *Aḷagerudu-ney* of our record corresponds to *nallerudu* of others. It was not hitherto known, whether this small item of tax was paid in kind or money; and it is, therefore, interesting to note that our inscription shows it was a payment made in ghee, though the quantity is not specified. If *kā-tchi-erudu-kāṣu* found in still other records, is identical with *nallerudu* or *aḷageruduney*, it must be understood that the fee was also paid in coin, as the suffix *kāṣu* seems clearly to indicate.

The places mentioned in the inscription are Tiruvallam, Nigamam and Ariyiyūr. Of these, the first two are villages in the Neyyattinkara Taluk. Nigamam is called Nēnam at present. Ariviyūr is perhaps identical with the modern Arivikkara in Māranallūr-pakuthy of the same Taluk.

### Text.

1. ஸ்ரீ ஸ்ரீ [||\*] விரிச்சிகத்கில்வ்<sup>1</sup> வியாழந் நின்ற யாண்டு கொல்ல[ம்\*]  
நாகூர்கு-தாமாடை<sup>2</sup> மகர ஞாயிற்றுச் செய்தி<sup>3</sup> காரியமாவது<sup>4</sup> [||\*]  
வெண்டு வாழ்ந்தருளுகின்ற ஸ்ரீவிரகௌவர்மம்<sup>5</sup> திரு-
2. வடிக்கமஞ்ச<sup>6</sup> அதிகாரரு[ை\*]டய தெங்நாடு சிவிதத்தில் நிகமத்தாரக  
த்து ஆண்டுவ[ை\*]ரயுங் கடமைல்க் கொள்ளுந் நெல் உறாஎஞ்<sup>7</sup>  
செய்து மழகெருது(ந்)நெய்யுந் தனை-
3. க்காணமுந் திருவல்லத்து மாதெவர்க்குந் திருக்கண்ணப்பன்னுங் கணப  
திக்குந் நமக்காரத்தின்னுந் நியதமும் அத்தாழத் திருவமுர்து செய்யு  
மாறு கல்ப்பிச்ச<sup>8</sup>
4. அரி மடை எ-நாழியும் இரண்டிடத்தூந் திருவறை வாதில்க்கல்<sup>9</sup> ஓரோதிங்  
கள் ஓரோத்திலிச்<sup>10</sup> செல்லுமாறு கல்ப்பிச்ச திபமலைக்குங் கூட  
எழு-
5. திக் கொடுத்தாரதிகாரர் [||\*]இக்[கூறு] முதலா[ய்\*] மாதெவர்க் கரி இ  
ருநாழி திருக்கண்ணப்பன் னரி இருநாழி கணபதிக்கரி நாழி ந<sup>11</sup>  
வாரத்தின்னரி இரு-
6. நாழி[||\*] இதின்னு<sup>11</sup> மெல்க்காட்டு சொகியார் கூட்டிக் கொடுத்த அ

1. Cancel the letter வ்.
2. Read மாண்டை.
3. Read செய்த.
4. Read காரியமாவது.
5. Cancel ம்.
6. Read கமைஞ்ச.
7. Read உறாஎஞ்.
8. Read கல்பித்த.
9. This word stands for வாசலின்கண்.
10. Read ஓரோரிடத்தில்.
11. Stands for இதற்கு.

அச்சு அ-ன்னும் பொலியாலொள்ள<sup>1</sup> முதலுங் கூட நாராணதாதர்  
கைக்கொண்டு செலுத்தித் தாம் விலைகொண்-

7. ட அருவியூர்ப் புரயிடத்தில்த் திருநந்தாவனமுஞ் சமைச்சு முன்றெடத்  
தும்<sup>2</sup> ஈரண்டு<sup>3</sup> திருமாலயுஞ்<sup>4</sup> சார்த்திச்சு சொறு மெடுத்துக்கொண்டு  
வருவது<sup>5</sup> [11\*] நாராண-
8. தாதர் இப்பரிசெ நிகமத்து கடமை நெல்<sup>6</sup> உயொள-மு மழகெருதுநெ  
யி<sup>7</sup> தளைக்காணமு மச்சு அ-ன் பொலியுந் நாராணதாதர் ஆண்டுவரை  
அறு தி-
9. ங்கள் வாரமுங் கொண்டு குறியுங் கொடுத்து செலவுஞ் செலுத்தித் திரு  
நந்தாவனமுந் திருமாலயுந்<sup>8</sup> செலுத்தி வருவது<sup>9</sup> [11\*]  
நாராண-
10. தாதநிற் பிற்பாகம் வஸெயும் பிழார[ர்\*] திருவடியும் சொகிகள்க்குந்  
துருவுள்ளமாயவரை<sup>10</sup>க்கொண்டு இவ்வண்ணமெ ஆஅருதாரவல்  
செல்லு<sup>11</sup>

### Translation.

Hail! Prosperity! The ( *following is the* ) transaction made in the month of Makaram of the Kollam year 399, (*i. e.*) the year (in which) Jupiter stood in Vriśchikam:—

The officers wrote and gave (*i. e. conveyed by document*) the *kaḍamai* (*i. e. tax on land*) of 217<sup>12</sup> (*parai*) of good paddy, *aḷagerudu-ney* (*i. e. ghee from the good buffaloes*), and *talaiikkāṇam*,—received every year from Nigamattūr (*situated*) in the *Jivita* of Teñña-nādu, belonging to the officers of (*i. e. appointed by*) the glorious Vīra-Kēraḷavarṇamar-Tiruvāḍi, who was pleased to rule the Vēṇādu (country),—to the gods Mahāḍēvar, Tirukkannappan (*i. e. Krishna*) and Gaṇapati (*in the temple*) of Tiruvallam, for *namaskāram* and for making daily

1. Read பொலியாலுள்ள.
2. Read முன்றிடத்திலும்.
3. Read ஈரிரண்டு.
4. Read திருமாலையுஞ்.
5. Read வருவது.
6. Read உயொள.
7. Read நெய்.
8. Read மாலையு.
9. Read வருவது.
10. Stands for மாநவரை.
11. Read செலவு. Some word like செய்வது or செலுத்துவது is omitted to be engraved at the end.
12. In writing out this figure, the engraver seems to have interchanged the symbols for 10 and 100. Thus we have உயொள instead of உயொள. According to a stone inscription of Mitrānandapuram, the paddy required for a daily offering of 4 *naḷi* of rice is 120 *parai*. Hence, for 7 *naḷi* of rice daily, the quantity of paddy must be 210 or 217 as in this record.



sacred offerings of *attāḷam* required to be prepared out of 7 *nāḷi* of rice, (*as measured by*) the temple measure as well as for the garland of lamps<sup>1</sup> required to be put up, by monthly turns, in the two places at the entrance into the *sanctum*. Receiving on hand the fund of this share (*i. e.* assignment) made for two *nāḷi* of rice to the Mahādēvar, two *nāḷi* of rice to Tirukkannappar, (*one*) *nāḷi* of rice to Gaṇapati and two *nāḷi* of rice for *namaskāram*, and receiving also the fund derived from the interest on 8 *achchu*, given by the *Śōgiyār* (*i. e.* the Yōgi) of Mēlkkāḍu to be added to this, Nārāṇatādar shall defray the (*required*) expenses. He shall lay out a sacred flower-garden in the *puraiyidam* of Ariviyūr, which he had purchased; shall supply two sacred garlands to each of the three places (*i. e.* the three shrines); and shall receive food.

Thus shall Nārāṇatādar receive, once in six months, the *kaḍamai*-paddy of 217 (*parai*), *aḷag-erudu-ney* and *taḷaikkānam* from Nigamam, and the interest on the sum of 8 *achchu*. (*He shall*) give receipt, defray the expenses, (*lay out*) the sacred flower-garden, and supply the sacred garland of lamps. After (*the demise of*) Nārāṇatādar, the expenses (*shall be conducted*) in this (*i. e.* the *abovesaid*) manner, as long as the moon and the stars endure, by persons who shall be selected for the purpose by the assembly, the Paḷārar-Tiruvaḍi and the Śōgigāl (*i. e.* the Yōgis).

#### No. 12.—Tiruvallam Inscription of the Kollam year 411.

This unfinished inscription is engraved on the base of the west wall of the *maṇḍapa* in front of the Brahmā shrine at Tiruvallam. It is in the Vaṭṭeḷuttu alphabet and Tamil language, and is dated in the 5th solar day, expired, of the month Makara in the Kollam year 411, when Jupiter was in Vṛiśchika-rāśi and the Nakshatra was Pūram. At my request, this date was examined by M. R. Ry. Dewan Bahadur L. D. Swamikkannu Pillai. He notes that it is equivalent to "Sunday, 30 December 1235. On this day, Pūram or Nakshatra Pūrva-Phalgunī ended at 73 of day (44 ghaṭikas) after mean sunrise and it was the 5th day of Makara month, so that in this case the suffix "expired" is expletive, not significant. Jupiter was in Vṛiśchika."

N. B. "To this use of *expired* we have an exact parallel in the citation of *tithis* and *nakshatras* which are sometimes referred to by the day of commencement. At other times by the day on which they ended. In all cases the week day supplies the necessary check".

The object of the inscription appears to be to register a gift made by one Vijaiyan Iravi of Tekkinkāvu. Mention is made of Mukundōttama-Bhaṭārar-Tiruvaḍi, who must have been connected with the temple management at Tiruvallam.

At the time of this record, the ruling king of Vēṇāḍu was Vīra-Ravikēraḷavarman. His Kaṇḍiyūr inscription is dated in Kollam 393,<sup>1</sup> while his other Tiruvallam record is dated six years later.<sup>2</sup> At Maṇalikkarai, we have another

1 Above Vol. I. p. 290.

2 Above p. 40f.

epigraph of his, which belongs to the same Kollam year as the subjoined one but is later by 3 months and 22 days.<sup>1</sup>

### Text.

1. ஸ்ரீ ஸ்ரீ [॥\*] விரிச்சிகவ் வியாழத்தில் யாண்டு கொல்லம் சாயக-தாமா  
ண்டை மகரஞாயிறு டு-சென்றஞாப்<sup>2</sup> பூரம் இந்நாளால் திருவல்லத்து  
தெக்கின் திருச்சுற்றுமண்டபத்தில்
2. ஸ்ரீ ஸ்ரீ முருந்தொத்தம் பழார திருவடி தன்னதியில் கூடி இரு  
ந்து செத காரி[ய\*]மாவிது தெக்கின் காவில் விசையனிரவி

### Translation.

Hail! Prosperity! On the day of Pūram corresponding to the 5th solar day expired, of the month Makara of the Kollam year 411, the year in which Jupiter stood in Vṛiśchika, (*the members of*) the assembly having met together in the presence of the glorious Mukundōttama-Bhaṭārar-Tiruvaḍi in the hall of the south enclosure at Tiruvallam transacted the (following) business:—

Vijaiyan Iravi of Tekkinkāvu . . . . .

### No. 13— On the south wall of the Krishna shrine at Trivandram.

This unfinished inscription is engraved on the south wall of the Krishna shrine in the Padmanābhasvāmin temple at Trivandrum. The object of it is to register a gift, made in the presence of Prajñādhyaksha-Bhaṭārar and the assembly of Tiruvānandapuram, by a certain Saṅkaraṇ Dēvaṇ of Pūkkōḍu for maintaining of two Vṛiśchika-lamps.

Pūkkōḍu may be identified with Pūṅgōḍu, a village in the Neyyāttinkarai Taluk. The paleography of the inscription shows that it must be earlier than the time of Kōdai-Mārtāṇḍavarman.

The Sanskrit letters that occur in this record are *Svasti śrī, śrī* in *śrīmukha sabhai* and *Prajñādhyaksha* in line 1. *Tannadi* and *tamañjidaṇ* are altered forms of *sannadhi* and *samañjita*.

### Text.

1. ஸ்ரீ ஸ்ரீ [॥\*] மினத்தில் வியாழந் நின்ற விரிச்சிக ஞாயிற்று திருவான  
ந்தபுரத்து ஸ்ரீ ஸ்ரீ தமஞ்சிதனும் திருவாய[ம்\*]பாடி ஸ்ரீ முகம  
ண்டபத்தில் ஸ்ரீ ஸ்ரீ பூரம் தன்னதியில் [கூ]டி இருந்ருனிய  
டத்து

1 See below No. 19.

2 ஞாப்பூரம் is a compound of ஞான் and பூரம். ஞான் has changed into ஞான் and lost its final consonant. The verification of the details of date has proved the correctness of the reading.

2. திருவாயம்பாடிப் பிள்ளைக்கு இரண்டு விரிச்சிகத் திருவிளக்கினு பூக்கொட்டு சங்கரந் தெவ<sup>1</sup>

### Translation.

Hail! Prosperity! In the month of Vṛiśchika (*of the year*) in which Jupiter stood in Mīṇa, and on the occasion when (*the members of*) the assembly of Tiruvāṇandapuram and the *samañjita* had met together in the sacred *mukha-maṇḍapa* of Tiruvāyambāḍi in the presence of Prajñādhyaṅksha-Bhaṭṭārār, Śaṅkaran Dēvan of Pukkōḍu . . . . . for (*burning*) two Vṛiśchika lamps in (*the shrine of*) Tiruvāyambāḍi-Piḷḷai (*i. e.* Kṛishṇa).

### No. 14.—On the South wall of the Krishna shrine in the Padmanabhasvamin temple at Trivandrum.

This inscription is engraved on the south wall of the Tiruvāyambāḍi-Kṛishṇa shrine in the Padmanābhvasvāmin temple. It is in the Vaṭṭeḷuttu alphabet and is not dated in any era, but only mentions the year when Jupiter was in Karkāṭaka and the month Vṛiśchika, which details are too insufficient to calculate or verify. The object of the record is to registrar a gift of lands in Peruvēṇādu, by Kāmaṇ Kunrappōḷaṇ of Perundōṭṭam in Kuṭṭamaṅgalam, for maintaining a sacred lamp in the shrine of Tiruvāyambāḍi-Perumāḷ, i. e. Kṛishṇa. Kuṭṭamaṅgalam may be identified with the village of that name in the Mūvāttupulāi Taluk.

There is an unpublished copper-plate fragment belonging to Māmbaḷli whose size and script are almost the same as those of Śrīvallabhan Kōḍai dated in the Kollam year 149<sup>2</sup>. It mentions Kāmaṇ Kunrappōḷaṇ but does not give his native village. If this individual is identical with the one mentioned in the subjoined record, the latter may be assigned to the 10th century A. D. and the antiquity of the Tiruvāyambāḍi shrine will be taken to a much earlier period than that indicated in the inscription of Kōḍai Mārthāṇḍaṇ.<sup>3</sup>

### Text.

1. ஸ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ[||\*] கற்கடகத்தில் வியாழந் நின்ற யாண்டு விருச்சிக ஞாயிற்றுத் திருவானந்தபுரத்துத் திருவாய்ப்பாடிப் பெருமானுக்கு குட்டமங்கலத்து பெருந்தொட்டத்து காமங்குன்றப்பொழி னமைச்ச திருநந்-
2. தாவிளக்கு ஒன்றினுக்குங் [கா]மங்குன்றப்பொழி அட்டிக்குடுத்த பூமி [||\*] பெருவெனுட்டில் [குஞ்சர்] வயலு மிதனெடு செல்லுந்தெங்கு தொட்டமும் கரையும் பெருமடை வயலு மிதனெடு செல்லுந் தெங்கு தொட்டமும் கரையு[||\*] மிநநி-

1 After this letter there are some mason's marks.

2 Ep. Ind. Vol. IX. pp. 224 ff.

3 See below, p. 46.

3. ல மித்தனைக்குந் தன்னுடைய மருமக்களெய் காராண்மை செய்து மெற்  
பாதிக்கொண்டு திருவிளக்கு செலுத்துவிது [11\*] முட்டுகில் முட்டி  
ட்டி செலுத்திப் பின்னையு மிவகளை காராண்மை செய்து தாக இ-  
4. ப்பூமி அட்டிக்குத்தான் காமங்குன்றப் பொழன் 11-

### Translation.

Hail! Prosperity! In the month Vṛiśchika of the year when Jupiter was in Karkāṭaka, Kāmaṇ Kunṛappōḷaṇ of Perundōttam in Kuṭṭamaṅgalam provided one sacred lamp to ( *the temple of* ) Tiruvāyambāḍi-Perumāḷ at Tiruvānandapuram and assigned for it with libation (*of water*) the lands *Kunjūr-vayal* in Peruvēṇādu, together with the cocoanut garden and the *karai* attached to it; as well as the *perumaḍai-vayal* together with the cocoanut garden and *karai* attached to it. For all these lands, his nephews should have the *kārāṇmai* right (*i. e.* the right of cultivation) and that they should, with the owner's share obtained from them, maintain the lamp. Kāmaṇ Kunṛappōḷaṇ gave with libation (*of water*) these lands stipulating that if default was made, double the quantity should be paid and that even afterwards these persons (*i. e.* the nephews) should retain the *kārāṇmai* right.

### No. 15.—Trivandrum Inscription of Kodai Marthanda.

The subjoined inscription is engraved on the south wall of the Gōśala-Kṛiṣṇa shrine in the Padmanābhasvāmin temple at Trivandrum. The first part of it, which is in the Sanskrit verse, has been taken to be a separate record and treated as such, by more than one gentleman who had had the occasion to handle it. I consider, however, that it is proper to view the whole as a single inscription as it seems that this is clearly the intention of the engraver. In this connection, it may be noted that the second part begins in the same line where the first ends, without leaving any vacant space between. Moreover, the latter part is not introduced by the usual benedictory phrase “Śvasti-śrī” which generally begins an inscription. Many an instance might be cited to show that the procedure adopted in this inscription was the identical one followed in engraving bilingual epigraphs in ancient times. If further proof were needed, that could be found in the fact that the object of the Sanskrit portion and that of the Vaṭṭeluttu part that follows it, is one and the same. As in the case of all bilingual epigraphs, the second part gives more details, while the first serves only the purpose of a short introduction to it. We would point out that even the wording of the two parts agree so well that there is little room for any doubt in the matter. One can find almost a literal translation of *Uttuṅga-Jivē Dhanuṣhi Āḍityarāma Syānandūra Gōshṭhālaya kamaladrīṣē rajata-kṛita-dīṇḍimam adīṣat kṛita naivēdyam* of the Sanskrit portion, in *Karkāṭaka-Viyāḷattil Daṇu-ñāyirru Āḍichcharāman Tiruvānandapurattu Tiruvāyambāḍi-ppillaiḱku vellī-tiruvāṇuḱkatuḍiyum koḍuttu tiruvamudu kalppichchu* of the Vaṭṭeluttu part. We have purposely called attention to the identical nature of the two as it will serve to remove some of the misconceptions entertained by others in the understanding of this inscription.

In treating the Sanskrit portion as a separate epigraph, the late Prof. Prof. Sundaram Pillai, who had devoted much time and thought to the inscriptions of the State, was of opinion:—

(i) that Ādityarāma was a king of Vēṇāḍu, being called “the prosperous and honoured soul of the earth.” The expression “the bearer of the umbrella of Kōḍa Mārttāṇḍa” meant, according to him, that he inherited the kingdom from the latter and that he was not the personal servant of another individual.

(ii) that the date of the inscription is expressed in the *kaṭapayādi* system by the word “Mārttāṇḍa” and is equal to Dhanus 365 M. E. or to about the end of December 1189, when astrologically Jupiter was in that part of the heavens which is graced by the figure crab.

(iii) that Kōḷambhādhiśa “the god of Kōḷamba” meant the king who instituted, or took part in the institution of, the era of Kōḷamba, and not the reigning king of the day. Accordingly, with the aid of Mr. Shangunni Menon’s *History*, Mr. Pillai identified him with that ancestor of the Vēṇāḍu kings who in Kollam 1 started the Malabar era.

The following extract from the pen of Mr. Sundaram Pillai will serve to show how sceptic he himself was regarding the permanent retention of Ādityarāma in the list of the Vēṇāḍu kings. He says:—

“Thus then, beyond all doubt, there reigned over Vēṇāḍu on the 25th Mēḍam 371 M. E. or about the beginning of May 1196, Śrī-Vīra-Rāma-varma-Tiruvaḍi. This date is but 23 years and a month later than that of Śrī-Vīra-Udaiyamārttāṇḍavarman at Tiruvattāru ... the last firm ground we have. The interval cannot surely be considered too large for one reign, supposing we are constrained by further researches to reject, as foreign to the dynasty, both Ādityarāma of the Gōṣāla inscription, and Kēraḷavarman II of the Ārriṅgal fragments. But the latter contingency, at any rate, as far as Ādityarāma, is so far improbable, that it may be well set aside, except in the way of satisfying the conscience of the ultra-sceptical. If we admit then either of these two names, we abridge the interval respectively to six or three years—periods too short to disturb in the least our belief in the uninterrupted succession of the sovereigns, the records have served to bring to light.”

Here we may indicate briefly how it is not possible, so far as Ādityarāma is concerned, to retain him in the list of the Vēṇāḍu kings; how the date assigned for the Gōṣāla inscription cannot be upheld; and how consequently, Kōḍa Mārttāṇḍavarman, whose umbrella-bearer Ādityarāma was, cannot be identified with the king of that name, who instituted the Kollam era.

(i) As regards the first point, it may be said that the words *mānya-ātmā-kṣhamāyāh*, because they refer to the umbrella-bearer of the king, should not be taken in the sense “the prosperous and honoured soul of the earth” but must be rendered “the praiseworthy soul of patience”. The Vaṭṭeḷuttu portion of the inscription is quite explicit when it states that Ādityarāma was but a native of

Marudaman, which place may be identified either with Marudamanbhāgam of the Pattanapuram Taluk or with Marudamanpalli of the Kottarakkarai Taluk. He had nothing to do with the possession of Vēṇāḍu and cannot be raised to the proud position of a king and made a remote descendant of the famous Mārtāṇḍavarman who instituted the Kollam era. He could be no better than a personal servant of king Mārtāṇḍavarman, and his umbrella-bearer as the Sanskrit portion distinctly calls him.

(ii) and (iii) may be considered together. First as regards the date assigned to this inscription, we have to note that it was never the intention of the writer to give any, except the planetary position; and that M. E. 365 will least suit it. In the extract given above, Mr. Sundaram Pillai refers to another inscription which is dated both in Kollam 371 and the year in which Jupiter was in the same *rāśi* as in the Gōśāla epigraph; but fails to see, however, that the position of Jupiter could not be in the same sign in M. E. 365, which is only six years behind 371 and not 12 years as it ought to be, for that planet takes a dozen years to come to the same position. The inscription referred to by him is the Vellāṇi record of the Vēṇāḍu king Vīra-Rāmavarman which we have edited above, No. 9. If we have to assign a date to the Gōśāla inscription at all, it would be correct to say that it belongs to Kollam 371. There would not be much to militate against it. On the other hand, the circumstance that this document was written by a certain Kaṇḍaṇ-Udayaṇaṇ, a native of Kaidavāy, the same individual that wrote the epigraph of Vīra-Rāmavarman, dated in the same year, would go a long way to confirm the inference. There would be no impossibility, however, for the inscription being dated exactly 12 years earlier, or 12 years later. In case the date of the Gōśāla inscription is the same as the Vellāṇi one of the Kollam year 371, for which the possibility is greater, we note that Vīra-Rāmavarman should have succeeded Mārttāṇḍavarman in the interval between Dhanus and Mēḍam of that year. This interval could be still further reduced with the help of a Mitrānandapuram inscription as we have noted above. According to it, the date of accession of Vīra-Rāmavarman should have taken place in December 1195 or January 1196. From what has been said above, it will be observed that there is no reference in the Gōśāla inscription to that Mārtāṇḍavarman who, according to Mr. Shangunni Menon, instituted the Kollam era; and that, on the other hand, it is likely there was a Mārttāṇḍavarman immediately before Vīra-Rāmavarman. It was in his reign that Ādityarāma made his gift of a silver drum to the Gōśāla Kṛishṇa shrine. As regards the provisional Kēraḷavarman evolved from the Ārriṅgal fragments, we have only to note that better evidence is necessary to establish that he flourished in Kollam 368. Taking into consideration the two fragments as published in the *Indian Antiquary* we find no reason whatsoever to connect the two, one of which is dated but does not mention any king, while the other mentions king Kēraḷavarman but does not give a date. The late Mr. Sundaram Pillai was therefore, quite right when he said that the connection of the two fragments was by no means safe. One other point to which we have to draw attention is the fact that the late Mr. Gopinatha Rao has read the date of the Tiruvattāru inscription which appeared to be a firm ground as Kollam 388 instead of 348.

The antiquity of Trevandrum and its temple of Śrī-Padmanābhasvāmin being beyond question, the inscriptions of the Gōśāla Kṛishṇa shrine under discussion serve to correct the notion that king Ādityavarman *alias* Sarvāṅganātha, whose Sanskrit epigraphs have been published already in Volume I, pp. 171 ff, did “*build newly*” the cow-house or cattle-shed, the house of beautiful lamps and the shrine of Kṛishṇa with its open hall or *maṇḍapa*” in the Śaka year 1296 (A. D. 1374), but that he only renewed them. The phrase *kṛitavānnavatam* used in No. III (p. 172) distinctly points to the same conclusion. Therefore, both in the translation and in the introduction given on pages 131 to 173 the word “*renewed*” must be substituted for “*constructed*” or “*built newly*” wherever they occur. By the fact that Kaṇḍaṇ Udayapaṇa figures in our inscription, it is certain that the shrine of Gōśāla Kṛishṇa is as old as, if not older than, Kollam 371, which again is fully a century and a half earlier than the date furnished in the records of Sarvāṅganātha.

The *Grantha* letters used in the Vaṭṭeḷuttu portion are *sabhai* and *npa-dramabha* in line 8, *ndra* in line 17 and *śrī-Viṣṇubhaktā* in line 38. It is particularly worthy of mention that the *Grantha na* is shaped in all epigraphs of the period to which our record belongs almost like the modern Malayāḷam *na*, while the Vaṭṭeḷuttu *na* and *na* are shaped quite differently. So far, no inscription in Malayāḷam characters, referrable to the fourth century of the Kollam era, has been discovered, all the inscriptions in the western dialect being either in Tamiḷ or Vaṭṭeḷuttu. It is worth noting that many of the letters in the modern Malayāḷam bears close resemblance to the *Grantha* of the 4th century of the Kollam era rather than to the Vaṭṭeḷuttu of the same period,—a fact that may lead to the inference that such letters are developments of the corresponding *Grantha* symbols. The shape of the *Grantha da* in the subjoined epigraph, as in allied inscriptions, resembles the Vaṭṭeḷuttu *ta*. It is available for comparison in lines 2, 4, and 6. The symbol for *mēṇṇaḍi* (*ditto*) and for *ṇo* whose occurrence is very rare, are figured in lines 14, 19, 23, and 26. *ṇo* resembles almost the letter *ku* and the difference between the two has been noted already.

The following dialectic peculiarities deserve recording:—*irunnarūḷiyēḍattu* (1. 9) for *irundarūḷiyaviḍattu*; *kōṭṭuvāṇ* (1. 11) for *kōṭṭuvaduḷḷu*; *kōṭṭumavaṇu*, *paḍiṇaṇṇiṇṇu* and *nālinṇu* for *kōṭṭumavaṇuḷḷu*, *paḍiṇaṇḍiṇṇuḷḷu* and *nāluḷḷu* (1. 18, 20, 21); *teṇḍa* (11. 31, 32) for *daṇḍam*; *tuḍai* for *taḍavai* (1. 26); *tandadi* (1. 34) for *santati*; *kalppichchu* (1. 13); and *āṇḍuvāra* (1. 16) for *āṇḍuvārai*.

*Śēgōppaṇi*, which occurs in lines 29 and 35 seems to be a compound of *śēgō* and *paṇi* of which the first part calls for remark. As an adjectival or noun termination *ō* is obsolete in Tamiḷ. It is only met with in the Vaṭṭeḷuttu ephigraphs of the west coast, and it seems to stand for *āvadu* or *kira*. Some examples of these are noted below:—

*śeṇṇaḍaikk-amaiṇja bhūmiyāvō* (above Vol. II p. 24).

A trace of this use of *ō* is to be found in such expressions as *kinarriḷō ku-lattilō*.

*Tuḍi* is a particular kind of wide mouthed drum similar to the *parai*, employed by the people of *kuruṇji* lands.

In lines 20 to 25, it is stated that the paddy to be given to the temple as interest on money lent must be brought to the *maṇḍapa* of the Tiruvāyambādi shrine once every year on the day of Uttira-Phalgunī in the month of Paṅguni and measured out there and given over to the temple authorities. The quantity of paddy must be exclusive of *puṛaiḱkūli* by which is perhaps meant the incidental charges such as the carriage fees, tolls, etc. *Puṛaiḱkūli* sometimes occurs in the form *puṛaiḱkūli*. An inscription edited above states that the paddy must be dried and freed from husk before being measured. Other epigraphs are even more explicit and state that these charges had to be borne by the person who was bound to give the quantity of paddy: thus, there is no doubt as regards the party who should incur the expenses.

*Vaiṇṇāṇ* (1. 17) is used just as in modern Malayālam and means "for cooking". *Sarada* seems to be derived from *sarasa* by changing the *sa* into *da* and means "agreeably or suitably". The use of the word *kuri* in the sense of "a receipt" (1. 36) may be noted.

### Text.

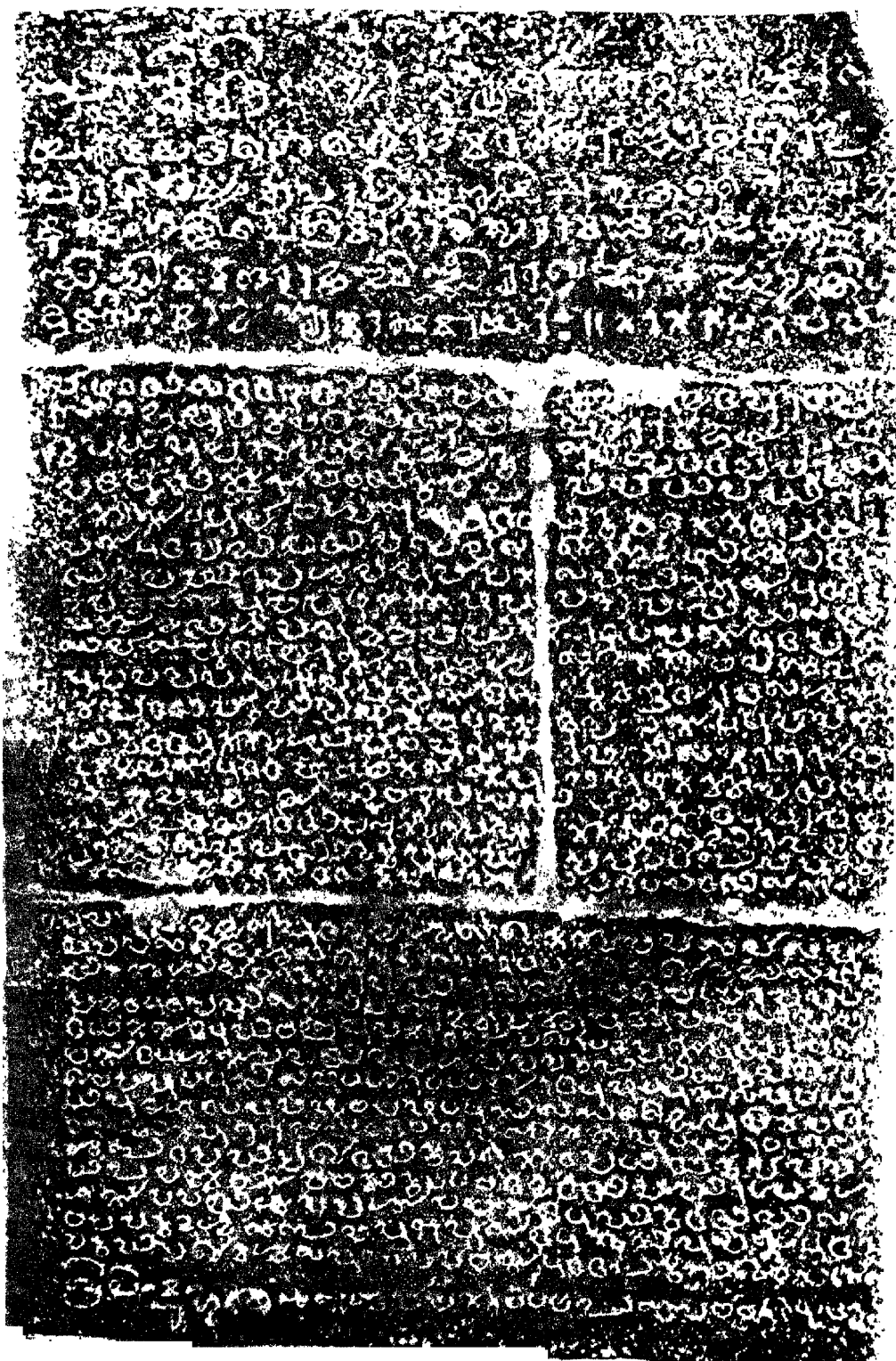
1. ஸ்வி ஸ்ரீ [1\*] ஸ்ரீநாதநெடுமொழிநாடு
2. ய கலெழிசெ மொழிநாடு துணைமொழி.
3. ஸாயீஸ் [ஹ] துணை ஸாயீஸ் ஸாயீஸ் ஸாயீஸ் ஸாயீஸ்.
4. ஸாயீஸ் [1\*] ஸாயீஸ் ஸாயீஸ் ஸாயீஸ் ஸாயீஸ் ஸாயீஸ்.
5. ஸாயீஸ் ஸாயீஸ் ஸாயீஸ் ஸாயீஸ் ஸாயீஸ் ஸாயீஸ்.
6. ஸாயீஸ் ஸாயீஸ் ஸாயீஸ் ஸாயீஸ் ஸாயீஸ் ஸாயீஸ்.
7. யாழ்த்தில் தனு ஸாயீஸ் [தி]ருவா[ன]ந்தபுரத்து
8. ஸாயீஸ் ஸாயீஸ் ஸாயீஸ் ஸாயீஸ் ஸாயீஸ் ஸாயீஸ்.
9. ஸாயீஸ் ஸாயீஸ் ஸாயீஸ் ஸாயீஸ் ஸாயீஸ் ஸாயீஸ்.
10. மண் ஆதிச்சராமன் திருவாயம்பாடிப் பிள்ளை.
11. க்கு கொட்டுவான் வெள்ளித்திருவணுக்கத் துடியு.
12. ன் கொடுத்து நியதி மடையால் இரு நாழிச் செய்தரி
13. திருவமிர்து செய்யுமாறு கல்பிச்சு கொடுத்த மூ-
14. ன்று சலாகையும் அழகச்சு முப்பதும் ஸாயீஸ் மெ-
15. ல்ச்சாந்தி செய்யுந் நம்பிமாரிடங் கொடுத்துப் பொ-
16. லியால் ஆண்டுவர கொள்ளுந் நெல் [ஓ]க்கும் பறையால்
17. அறுபது பறை செய்துங் கொண்டு ஆசன்தாரவல் செலவு
18. செலுத்தி வருவிது [1\*] திருவணுக்கத்துடி கொட்டுமவன்னு
19. விருத்திக்கு ஸாயீஸ் புலவரம் [பி]ல் கெளளாமன்.

1. Meter *Sragdharā*.

2. There is some space before வ which might have contained a letter: வ looks like ஸ. Perhaps ஸாயீஸ் is intended.



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20. னு கடங் கொடுத்த மூன்று சலாகையும் அழகச்சு பதினஞ்-
21. சின்னும் பணர் நாலின்னும் பொலியால் ஆண்டுவ[ை\*]ர பங்-
22. குனி உத்தரத்தின்னு குவையு[ர்]க்காலில் நிர்மண்ண-
23. டி நிலம் பதினொரு பறை வித்துபாட்டாலும் புறை[க்]-
24. கூலியும்] நீக்கி திருவாயம்பாடி மண்டபத்தில்க் கொ[ண்]-
25. வெந் நளவுதருந் நெல் ஒக்கும் பறையால் முப்-
26. பது பறை[||\*] இந்நெல் ஒரு துடை முட்டுகில் இந்நிலமும்
27. மிக்கு ஷையாற் குள்ள பூமி புரையிடம் எப்பெர்ப்பட்ட-
28. துந் தடுத்து விலக்கி வளைச்சுவச்சு அச்சம் பொலியும் [த]-
29. ண்டிக்கொண்டு பின்னையும் சரதமாயி ஓரடத்து கொடுத்து பொலி[யு]-
30. ங்கொண்டு செகொப்பணிபுஞ் செய் துவருவிது [||\*] திருவமிர் து
31. ஒன்று முட்டுகில் முட்டிரட்டி [||\*] இரண்டு முட்டுகில் முட்டிரட்டி]-
32. டியுந் தெண்டமும் [||\*] மூன்று முட்டுகில் ஸ்லெயுஞ் சமஞ்சி-
33. தனும் திருவுள்ளமாயி தெண்டமும் வைச்சு முட்டிரட்டியு[ஞ்]-
34. செலுத்துவிது[||\*] இத்திருவனுக்கத்துடி திருவாயம்[பா]-
35. டி உவச்சன் காமன் கிருட்டன் தந்ததிப்பிரவெச[மெ]
36. செகொப்பணி செய்து சொறுங் கொண்டு விருத்தியில் [தி]-
37. ன்று வருந் நெல்லும் அளவு கொண்டு குறியுங் கொடுத்தது]
38. வருவிது [||\*] இச்செலவு வைப்பான் கொடுத்த உருளி ஒன்று [||\*]  
இ[து]
39. ஸ்ரீ விஷ்ணுமூர்த்தன் கைதைவாய்க் கண்டன் உதையனன் எழுத்து [||\*]

### Translation.

Hail ! Prosperity ! In (*the month of*) Dhānus of (*the year*) when Jupiter was at its zenith, the illustrious Ādityarāma, the praise worthy soul of patience and the bearer of the umbrella of Kōdamārtāṇḍavarman who was the ruler of Gō-lamba (i. e. Kollam), gave to the lotus-eyed (*god*) residing in the unique temple of Gōshṭālaya, a fine drum, made of silver, equal in splendour to the Māndara (*mountain*) and lustrous as a huge mass of sea-foam, offerings being provided (*at the same time*).

In the month of Dhanus (*of the year in which*) Jupiter stood in Karkātaka, (*on the occasion*) when the assembly of Tiruvāṇḍapuram, the accountant (?) (*samañjita*) and [Sam]padrāma-Bhātārar-Tiruvaḍi were present together, Ādichcharāman of Maruḍaman presented a silver *tiruvāṇukkattuḍi* for being beaten in (*the temple of*) Tiruvāyambāḍi-Pillai (i. e. Kṛishṇa). (*He also*) ordered (i. e. provided) for the preparation of a daily sacred offering of two *nālī* of clean rice (*as measued*) by the temple measure (*maḍai*). For these, three *śalāgai* and thirty *aḷagachchu* were given. The above-said money shall be invested with the *nambi*<sup>1</sup> who are the principal priests (*mēl-śānti*) (*of the temple*). Recieving the interest to be obatined every year viz. sixty *paraī* of paddy (*as measured*) by the correct

1 It is the principal worshippers in temples that are entitled to be called *nambi*.

*paṛai*, the expenses shall be defrayed, as long as the moon and the stars (*exist*). The interest due on three *śalāgai*, fifteen *aḷag-achchu* and four *paṇam* given on loan to Kēraḷarāmaṇ of Pulavarambu, viz. thirty *paṛai* of paddy (*as measured*) by the correct *paṛai* from (*the yield of*) the land (*called*) Niramannaḍi, Kuvaikyūrkāl with the sowing capacity of eleven *paṛai* of seed which had to be brought to the *maṇḍapa* (*in front*) of the Tiruvāyambāḍi (*shrine*) and measured and given (*there*), annually on the occasion of Panguṇi-Uttiram, exclusive of *puṇaikkūli*,— shall be for the wages of the person who has to beat the *tiruvāṇakkattuḍi*. If, (*in respect of*) this paddy, default is made once, over and above this land, all kind of lands and gardens (*puraiyiḍam*) belonging to the above named person shall be attached. After realising the capital (*achchu*) and the interest due thereon, they will be suitably invested again in some other place (i. e. *with other persons*) and with the interest (*so*) derived the allotted work shall be conducted. (*In respect of*) the sacred offering, if default occurs once, double the quantity at default (*shall be obtained*); if default is made a second (*time*), in addition to (*collecting*) double the quantity at default, a fine also (*shall be levied*); and if default is made for the third time, double the quantity at default and fine shall be paid to the knowledge of the members of the assembly and the accountant. Kāmaṇ Kṛishṇaṇ, the drummer of this *tiruvāṇakkattuḍi* (*in the temple of*) Tiruvāyambāḍi and his descendants shall do the assigned duty, receiving food as well as the paddy, measured and given out of the yield of the *vṛitti* and giving receipt therefor. One *uruli* was given for cooking (*the offering*) provided for in this. This is the writing of Kaṇḍaṇ Uḍaiyaṇaṇ (i. e. Uḍaiyaṇaṇ son or nephew of Kaṇḍaṇ) of Kaidavāy, a devotee of the glorious Viṣṇu.

#### No. 16.— At the entrance into the Vishnu temple at Parthivapuram.

The subjoined inscription is engraved at the proper right of entrance into the inner enclosure (*śurru-maṇḍapa*) of the Viṣṇu temple at Pārthivapuram. I edit it from an impression secured in 1912.

Except *svasti śrī* (1. 1), *rakshā* in *rakshābhōga* (1. 2), and *rakshi* in line 3, the record is free from Sanskrit letters and words. The alphabet employed is Vaṭṭeḷuttu. Though from the few published inscriptions in this script it is not possible to fix the age of the inscription with any amount of certainty, exclusively on palæographical grounds, yet for reasons to be shown in a subsequent paragraph it may be assigned to the middle of the eleventh century A. D.

The language of the inscription is Tamil of the same form as is employed in the Mitrānandapuram copper-plates published above.<sup>1</sup> The promiscuous use made of both grammatical and vulgar or dialectic forms of words is specially worthy of note. Among such peculiar forms found in this record may be mentioned *kula-ttiṇu* and *valāviṇu* in line 1, *agaḷ-kuttiḥchu*, *puraiyiḍattiṇu*, and *eḍattiṇu* in line 2, *oḷḷa* and *oḷḷōr* in line 3, *kāṅāniḥchu* in line 4, and *Irāyādarāya* in lines 1 and 4.

As in the passage "*naṇai-malar-ppinḍināthan nalaṇ-kīḷar pādamūlam*" which occurs in the *Jīvakachintāmaṇi*, the term *pādamūlam* or *padipādamūlam*

1 See Nos. 1 and 2, above.

means, in the first instance, 'the feet of the Lord'. Thence it came to denote the body of people who were entrusted with the management of the temple. These persons were known as '*padipādamūla-ppatt-udai pañchāchāriyar*', perhaps on account of the fact that they consisted of five men who wore silk cloth for the sake of purity and were devoted to service in the central shrine and the regular conduct of worship. They seem to have shared the power of temple management along with the greatmen who formed the village assembly *i. e.* the *sabhai* and the *ūr*. Compare '*irvilakku erippōmāṇōm Tiruneyttānattu sabhaiyōmum pādāmūlamum*' which occurs in the *South-Indian Inscriptions*.<sup>1</sup>

Valluva-nādu, which now forms one of the Taluks of Malabar with a large number of Nambūdiri settlements and contains the famous shrine of Bhagavatī at Aṅgāḍipuram and the Kurumandankunṇu noted for its festival, was one of the most ancient territorial divisions of the Chēra country. Tradition affords enough grounds for supposing that it played an important part from the earliest times till a very recent date. The urn-burials which abound in the locality, the massive character of their capstones, the articles of value found within them, and the chamber erected round each, indicate that they are the tombs of persons of wealth and consideration.<sup>2</sup> Most probably they contain the remains of the opulent local chiefs.

We can trace the existence of the kingdom from at least the 9th century A. D. It is mentioned in the copper-plate inscription of Karunandaḍakkaṇ<sup>3</sup> dated in A. D. 864 and in that of Vikramāditya Varaguna. Mērkōḍu is said to have been situated in it. Among the several Hindu chiefs who ratified the grant made by Bhāskara-Ravivarman of the eleventh century A. D. to the Jews of Cochin, figures Īrāyiraṇ Śāttan of Valluvanādu, who was probably a feudatory of that king.<sup>4</sup> A record of A. D. 1007, states that Muṭṭam<sup>5</sup> *i. e.* the modern Eraniel was situated in Valluva-nādu. During the period of Chōla supremacy in Southern India, this kingdom seems to have been left to be governed by persons who owed allegiance to them. From an unpublished inscription of Karuppukkōṭṭai, we learn that a certain Gaṅgaikondaśōla Valluvanāḍālvāṇ was its king. But from the date of the record and the palaeography of it, it may be said that this chief was not of the time of the Chōla king Parakēsarivarman-Rājendra-Chōla I.

In the subjoined inscription the surname of Kēraḷaṇ Ādichchaṇ viz. Rājādhirāja Valluvanāḍālvāṇ points to the fact that his overlord was Rājakēsarivarman Rājādhirāja I. The title *varman* affixed to his proper name clearly shows that he was of royal descent. After the conquest of the Pāṇḍya and Chēra countries by the Chōla king Rājārāja I, Valluvanādu came to be a division of Rājārāja-Tēnnādu.<sup>6</sup> By the latter name *i. e.* Rājārāja-Tēnnādu was probably

1 *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. III. p. 250; and II pp. 112 and 312 n.

2 Logan's *Malabar*, Vol. I. p. 181.

3 See above pp. 5 and 17.

4 *Epi. Ind.* Vol. III. pp. 66ff.

5 See above, p. 292, text-line 30.

6 *Ibid.* text-line 12f, "Rājārāja-Tēṇ-Valluvanādu" given on p. 5 is a mistake for 'Rājārāja-Tēnnā-ṭṭu-Vlluvanādu'. The evidences so far available do not warrant the inference that there were two Valluvanāḍus in ancient times on the west coast.

meant the Pāṇḍya and Kēraḷa countries which were situated to the south of the Chōḷa territory, acquired by Rājārāja I by conquest. The Pāṇḍya country itself was called Rājārāja-Pāṇḍināḍu. The territorial extent of Vaḷḷuva-nāḍu appears to have varied at different times,<sup>1</sup> but its importance was maintained all through. The Rājas of Vaḷḷuvanāḍ acted and still act as protectors of the festival of Mahāmakkham conducted once in 12 years in the Tirunāvāy temple on the north bank of the Ponnani river in South Malabar.<sup>2</sup> The Zamorin of Calicut is reported to have snatched away a good portion of the Rāja's territory in later days; and at the time of the Mysore conquest there remained to the Rāja only 26 *amśams*, some of which are in Ernad Taluk.<sup>3</sup>

Pārthivaśēkharapuram is a hamlet of Ārudēsapparru which is a pakuthy of the Viḷavaṅgōḍ Taluq. In the Huzur plates of the Āy chief Karunandaḍakkaṇ,<sup>4</sup> dated in A. D. 864—5 and the ninth year of reign, it is recorded that that king purchased from the assembly of Muñchirai the land called Uḷakkuḍiḷai included in the lands of Paśuṅḡḷam, a village in Muḍāla-nāḍu; that its extent and boundaries were fixed by the officers, who circumambulated it, accompanied by a she-elephant; that a sacred temple was built in it and consecrated to the god Viṣṇu-Bhaṭṭāraka; and that the village of Pārthivaśēkharapuram was formed. From this record it is clear that Pārthivaśēkharapuram, which is identical with the modern Pārthivapuram, came into existence in A. D. 864 and that its Viṣṇu temple was also constructed in that very year. Another fact that we gather from the extract is that the village must have been so termed after Pārthivaśēkhara, a probable surname of Karunandaḍakkaṇ. It may be noted that the place is also mentioned in the Huzur plates of Vikramāditya Varaguna.<sup>5</sup> In slightly later times, the surname Pārthivaśēkhara appears to have been borne by the Chōḷa king Rājārāja I. and after this name a village was called Pārthivaśēkhara-chaturvēdimaṅgalam.<sup>6</sup>

Kāritṭurai (1. 1), to which the chief mentioned in this inscription belonged, appears to have been the ancient name of Karuppukkōṭṭai near Pudugrāmam and this information is gathered from an unpublished epigraph secured from that place. Kuḷachchai is now called Kuḷachchal and is a pakuthy in the Eraniel Taluk.

In line 2, there is reference to the grant of two *ēr* of land (*i. e.* land that could be turned with two ploughs) to the Pulaiyaṇ<sup>7</sup> whose duty must have been similar to that of a village watchman.

1 See note 7, above.

2 Logan's *Malabar*, Vol. I. p. 162f.

3 *Ibid*, pp. 656-7.

4 See above, Vol. I. pp. 1ff.

5 *Ibid*, pp. 16ff. From the fact that this plate mentions Pārthivaśēkharapuram and that the chief Teṅganāḍaiḷvaṇ *i. e.* Śattan Murugaṇ offered his daughter Murugaṇ Śēndi in marriage to Vikramāditya Varaguna, it has been surmised that the king must be posterior to, and the successor of Karunandaḍakkaṇ in whose grant Śattan Murugaṇ figures as the *aṅṅapti*.

6 Pārthivaśēkhara-Chaturvēdimaṅgalam was a village in Mīraikūṛṇṇam or Mīrai-nāḍu, a sub-division of Rājēndrasimha-vaḷanāḍu (*South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. II. p. 336).

7 See, above pp. 18-19.

In line 3, it is said that the income from the property conveyed by the *attippēru* shall be one in three of the produce from it, but shall exclude the *pulaikkāval*. It thus appears that the *pulaikkāval* lands (i. e. those assigned to the Pulaiyaṅs) are exempt from the payment of any tax. A similar exemption of *pulaikkāval* lands from the payment of taxes and dues occurs in the inscription of Vikramāditya Varaguṇa, already referred to.

The object of the inscription is to register a gift of lands to the chief of Vaḷḷuva-nāḍu, subject to certain conditions which are detailed in the record. Reference is incidentally made to a fort and to a moat surrounding it as well as to the temple at Pārthivaśekharaapuram which are to be benefited by the conditions of the grant.

### Text.

1. ஸ்ரீ விசிச்சிகத்தில் வியாழ நின்ற சிங்ங்ராயிற்று <sup>1</sup>பார்த்தியசெகரபுரத்  
து பெருமக்கள் குளச்சைக் கொயில்க்குளங்நரைக் காளக்கூட்டங் குறவ-  
றக் கூடி [க் கா]ரித்துறைக் கெரளாதிச்சவன்மனையின இராயாதராய வ-  
ள்ளுவநாடாழ்வானுக்கு அட்டில்பெறு அவிர்ரோதத்தால் கொடுத்த பு-  
ரையிடங் குளச்சைக்கொயில் குளத்தினு<sup>2</sup> தெற்கு பாடகச்செரி வளாவி-  
னும் மணற்பள்ளி முள்விளைக்கும் <sup>3</sup>பர[லை]யு[ர்\*] கொட்டையிற் செம்ம-  
ரிப்பாறைக்கு மெ
2. ந்கு நாம் அகழ்குத்திச்ச கொடுத்தெடத்தினு வடக்கு புறக்காற்கும் அய்யன்-  
கொயிற்கும் புரையார்குங் களம் அடுத்து புலையற்கு கொடுத்த இரண்-  
டெர் நிலத்தினுங் கிழக்கு இவ்விசைந்த பெருநான்கெல்லை அகழ் குத்தி-  
ச்ச [11\*] இதிலகப்பட்ட புரையிடம் உண்ணிலம் ஒழிவின்றியெ நிலப்-  
பயனும் மரப்பயனு[ம்\*] உள்ப்பட அட்டில்பெறு கொடுத்து இப்புர-  
ரையிடத்தினு பார்த்திவசெகரபுரத்து ஆழ்வார்க்கு ரக்ஷாபொகம் ஒரு  
திருநந்தாவிளக்கு செலுத்துவதாகவும் [1\*] இப்புரையி-
3. டஞ்சுற்றுமண்டபத்தினகத்தொடொள்ள பரியாரம் பெறுவதாகவும் [1\*] ப-  
திபாதமுலமுங் குளச்சையூரும் இக்கொட்டை ரக்ஷிக்கக்கடவராகவும்  
இக்குடியிலொள்ளொரோருத்தர் எப்பிழை செய்யிலும் இக்கொட்டை-  
யில் ஆரும் ஒருத்தர் ஒரு[க்க]<sup>4</sup>னர்த்தம் பண்ணுதெ சுற்றுமண்டப-  
த்தினகத்தொடெ ஒக்க ஒள்ள பரியாரம் பண்ணிக்கொடுத்து குளச்சை-  
க்கு[ம்] மா[வு] நிலம் பந்திருகலமும் அட்டில்பெறு கொடுத்த [அ] இதி-  
னில்ப் புலைக்காவல் நி[க்கி]
4. முன்றொன்று கங்காணிச்ச கொள்விதாகவும் அவிர்ரோத[த்\*]தால் அட்டில்-  
ப்பெறு கொடுத்தொங் கெரளாதிச்சபன்மனான இராயாதராய வள்ளுவ-  
நாடாழ்வானுக்கு<sup>5</sup>

### Translation.

Hail! Prosperity! In the month of Simha, when Jupiter stood in Vṛiśchi-  
kam, we the great men of Pārthivaśekharaapuram, having assembled without defi-

1 Read பார்த்திவ.

2 Stands for குளத்திற்கு.

3 Read பரலையூர்.

4 The letters க்க seem to have been erased. We have to correct கு into ர.

5 There are some punctuation marks after this.

ciency (*in number*) by (*the sounding*) a trumpet,<sup>1</sup> on the bank of the tank (belonging to) the temple at Kuḷachchai, unanimously gave an *aṭṭippēru* in favour of Kēraḷaṇ Ḍichchay *alias* Rājādhirāja Vaḷḷuvanāḍāḷvāṇ of Kāritturai and in respect of the garden (*puraiyidam*) (lying)

to the south of the temple-tank at Kuḷachchai,

to the west of the vaḷā (*field*) of Pādagachchēri, (*the land called*) Muḷvilai of Maṇarppalli, and the rock (*known as*) Śemmarippārāi within the fort at Paralaiyūr,

to the north of the place where we (*the members of the assembly*) dug out and presented a moat, and

to the east of Puṛakkāl, Ayyaṅkōyil, Puraiyāl and the two *ēr* of land adjoining the thrashing ground (*kalam*) (*which had been*) granted to the Pulaiyaṇ.<sup>2</sup>

Having dug out a moat in the four great boundaries thus set forth, the garden lying within it,— without excluding the *unṇilam* but inclusive of (the right of enjoyment of) the land-produce and the tree-produce, — was given as an *aṭṭippēru*, subject to the following conditions:—

From the *rakshābhōgam* of this garden, one sacred lamp shall be provided to the god (Āḷvār) at Pārthivaśēkharapuram.

This garden shall receive the same conditions as those fixed for the enclosure *maṇḍapa*.

The *padipādamālam* and the villagers of Kuḷachchai shall protect this fort.

If any one residing in this habitation commit any (*kind of*) crime, no one (*living*) in this fort shall cause any trouble; but (*he*) shall be subjected to the same conditions as those which obtain for the enclosure *maṇḍapa*. He shall give an *aṭṭippēru* of (*one*) *mā* of land and twelve *kalam* (*of paddy*) to Kuḷachchai. Supervising the cultivation of this land, (*a share of*) one in three (*of the produce*), exclusive of the *pulaikkūral* on this (*land*), shall be taken. (*This*) *aṭṭippēru* was (*thus*) unanimously given to Kēraḷaṇ Ḍichchavarman *alias* Rājādhirāja-Vaḷḷuvanāḍāḷvāṇ.

### No. 17.—Alagiyapandiyapuram Inscription of the Kollam year 252.

The subjoined inscription, which is in good state of preservation, is engraved in the Tamil language and alphabet, on the north base of the central shrine of the Veṅkaṭāchalapati temple at the village of Alagiyapāṇḍiyapuram in the Tōvālai Taluk of the Padmanābhapuram Division. It registers a gift of land made by a certain Kaṇṇaṇ Dēvaṇ *alias* Uttamapāṇḍiya-Śilaiśeṭṭi, to the temple of Pavittira-mānikka-Viṇṇagar-Emberumāṇ at Adiyaṇūr *alias* Alagiyapāṇḍiyapuram. Among the boundaries of the land granted figures the channel irrigating the fields of Pēy-kkōḍu. This place may be identified with Pēyōḍu in the Alagiyapāṇḍiyapuram Pakuthy.

1 The verb *ūḷi* seems to be omitted after *kāḷa*.

2 The passage may also be rendered thus:— “to the east of the 2 *ēr* of land granted to the Pulaiyaṇ adjoining the thrashing ground (*kalam*) of Puṛakkāl, Ayyaṅkōyil and Puraiyāl.

Text.

1. ஷீஷி ஸ்ரீ [||\*] கொல்லந் தொன்றி யிருநூற்றைம்பத்திரண்டாமாண்டு  
நாஞ்சிநாட்டியனூரான அழகியபாண்டியபுரத்து கண்ணன் தெவ-  
னான உத்தமபாண்டியச் சிலைசெட்டியென் இந்நகரத்-
2. [தெ] . . . டும் விலைகொண்டிடைய பூமி கொட்டியார்துளத்தில் தெற்க-  
டைந்த நெடுங்கண்ணும் மெலைத்தடியும் பெய்கொட்டில் நீர்பாய்கிற  
காலுக்கு வடக்கும் பிராயொடு குழிக்கு மெ-
- 3.ற்கும் மா[ப்பா]ண்டிவயக்கலுக்கு தெற்கும் இந்நான்கெல்லைக்குட்பட்ட  
பூமி இந்நகரத்து பவித்ரமாணிக்கவிண்ணகரம்பெருமானுக்கு நித்-  
தம் நானாழி அரிசி திருவழுத்துக்கு சந்ராஜிதஜீவரை செல்வதாக<sup>1</sup> வை-  
ச்சு குடுத்தென் கண்ண[ன்\*]
4. தெவனான உத்தமபாண்டியச் சிலைசெட்டியென்

Translation.

Hail! Prosperity! In the two hundred and fifty-second year after Kollam had appeared, I, Kannaṇ Ḍevaṇ *alias* Uttamapāṇḍiyaśilaiṣeṭṭi of Adiyaṇūr *alias* Alagiya-pāṇḍiyapuram (*situated*) in Nāñji-nāḍu gave the lands Neḍuṇṅaṇ and *mēlait-taḍi* on the south side of (*the tank*) Koṭṭiyākuḷam, which I, Kannaṇ Ḍevaṇ *alias* Uttamapāṇḍiyaśilaiṣeṭṭi had purchased and (*which lay*) to the north of the chan-nel through which water flows in Pēykkōḍu, to the west of the pit with the *pīrāy*<sup>2</sup> (*tree*), to the south of the the field (*called*) Māppāṇḍi-vayakkal and thus included within these four<sup>3</sup> boundaries, for a daily sacred offering of four *nāḷi* of rice to (*the temple of*) Pavittiramāṇikka-Viṇṇagar-Emberumāṇ of this city, so that it may be conducted as long as the moon and the sun endure.

No. 18.—Alagiya-pandiyapuram Inscription of the Kollam year 299.

This inscription, which is engraved in Tamil characters, on the west base of the central shrine in the Veṅkaṭāchalapati temple at Alagiya-pāṇḍiyapuram, is dated in the Kollam year 299 (=A. D. 1124), and registers an *aṭṭippēru* grant of lands made by the citizens of that village to a certain Kōṇ Kēraḷaṇ. The condi-tions of the grant are that the donee shall have the right of *kāraṇmai* (*i. e.* the privilege of owning the lands and cultivating them) and that on receiving the own-er's share of the produce, he should pay to the temple of Pavitramāṇikka-Viṇṇa-gar-Emberumāṇ the land-tax (*kaḍamaṭ*) of seven *kalam* of paddy and one quarter of a *kāśu* on this holding of 13 *mā* of land. A *vēli* being equal to 20 *mā*, the *kaḍamaṭ* on one *vēli*, at the rate specified in the inscription, would work out to very nearly 11 *kalam* (or, to be more accurate, to 10  $\frac{1}{3}$  *kalam*) of paddy. It is further gathered from this inscription that the land tax was paid mostly in kind with a small amount of money. The quantity of paddy to be paid as tax, it is

1 Read செல்வதாக.

2 This is a tree with a milky juice: *trophis aspera*.

3 The Eastern boundary is omitted to be given in the record.



said, should be taken to the temple premises, where it should be measured and given. This practice is also worthy of note. In speaking of the Vishṇu temple of Pavitramāṇikkavinnagar-Emberumān, the inscription uses the word *mērkōyil*. It may be stated that the temple of Vishṇu is invariably situated to the west of the village, while that of Śiva is on the eastern side. On this account, the former appears to have been called *mērkōyil*, which term may be taken to indicate the relative position of both the Śiva and Vishṇu temples, one being on the eastern side and the other to the west of it. In referring to a Śiva temple at Conjeevaram, *Mattavilāsa-Prahasana* uses the word *pūrvasthālī*.

Among the boundaries, figure Iḍaikkōḍu and a river. The former may be identified with Itakkottuchcheri, a hamlet of Aḷagiyapāṇḍiyapuram and the latter is probably Paḷaiyāru which flows past the same village.

### Text.

1. ஸ்ரீ ஸ்ரீ [11\*] கொல்லந் தொன்றி இருதூற்றுத் தொண்ணூற்றென்ப-  
தாமாண்டு மிதுனத்தில் வியா[ழன்\*] நின்ற ஆண்டு நாஞ்சிராட்டிய-  
னூரா[ன\*] அழகியபாண்டியபுரத்து நகரத்தோம் இந்நகரத்து தி-  
ருமெற்கொயில் பவி-
2. சீமாணிக்க விண்ணகரம்பெருமானுக்கு இந்நகரதோம் சந்ராஜிதீவ-  
ரை செல்வதாக<sup>1</sup> நிர்வார்த்துக் குடுத்த நிலமாவது [11\*] இந்நகரத்து-  
ப் புறவிளாகந் தூவச்செய்யும் கொன்கேரளன் திருத்துக்கும் இந்நில-  
த்துக்கும் பெருநான்கெல்லை கிழமெல்லை இடைக்கொ-
3. ட்டிலின்று அணைக்கு பொகிற வழிக்கும் படாபாறைக்கு மெற்கு-  
ம் தென்னெல்லை அய்யன்கொயிலுக்குஞ் சாலார்விளாகத்தில்நின்-  
று இறங்குகிற ஆற்றுக்கும் படாபாறைக்கு[ம்\*] வடக்கும் [1\*] ஆற்-  
றுக்கு கிழக்கும் [1\*] வடவெல்லை ஆற்றுக்கு தெற்கும் [1\*] இவ்விசை-  
ந்த பெருநான்கெல்லைக்குட்பட்ட-
4. தூவச்செய்யுந் திருத்தில் பள்ளக்காலால் நீர்பாயு[ம்\*] நிலமு முட்படக்  
குடுத்த நிலம் பதினமூன்று மாவுக் கும் ஊற்காலால் மாத்தால் லெழு-  
லநெல்லும் காற்காசங் கடமை யிறப்பானாக இந்நகரத்துக் கொன்கே-  
ரளனுக்கு இந்நிலம் அட்டில்பெற்றுக் காராண்மையாக நீரோடுமட்-
5. டிக் குடுத்தோம் அழகியபாண்டியபுரத்து நகரத்தோம் கொன்கேரளனு-  
க்கு [11\*] இக்கடமை கொயிலி விட்டளந்து குடுப்பது [11\*]

### Translation.

Hail ! Prosperity ! In the year two hundred and ninety-nine after Kollam had appeared, *i. e.* the year (*when*) Jupiter stood in Mithuna, we, the citizens of Adiyaṇūr *alias* Aḷagiyapāṇḍiyapuram in Nāñji-nāḍi, gave the following lands, with libation of water, to (*i. e. in favour of*) the sacred western (*i. e.* Vishṇu) temple of Pavitramāṇikkavinnagar-Emberumān of this city, so that they may last as long as the moon and the sun endure. The four great boundaries of (*the land called*) Tūvachchey in the Puṇṇavilāgam of this city, the land reclaimed by Kōṇ Kēraḷaṇ and of this land, are (*as follows*):—

1 Trivandrum Sanskrit Series edition p. 29.

2 Read செல்வதாக.

The eastern boundary is to the west of the path leading from Idaikkōḍu to the dam,<sup>1</sup> and (*of the rock known as*) Paḍāppārai. The southern boundary is to the north of the temple of Ayyaṇ, the river flowing down from Śālār-viḷāgam and (*the rock called*) Paḍāppārai. (*The western boundry is*) to the east of the river. And the northern boundary is to the south of the (*same*) river.

We, the citizens of Alagiyapāṇḍiyapuram, gave, with libation of water, this land, *viz.* the land called Tūvcheṇy lying within the above described four great boundaries, inclusive of the field in the reclaimed (*portion*) watered by the pallakkāl and measuring thirteen mā,—as an *aṭṭippēru-kārāṇmai* to Kōṇ Kēraḷaṇ of this city, stipulating that he shall pay, as tax (*kaḍamai*), seven *kalam* of paddy (*as measured*) by the village measure, and a quarter *kāśu*. This tax (*of paddy*) shall be taken to the temple, measured out (there) and given (*to the temple authority*).

#### No. 19.—Manalikkarai Inscription of Ravikeralavarman of Venadu.

This inscription in the Vaṭṭeḷuttu alphabet is said to be engraved on four faces of a rectangular pillar set up near the Ālvār temple at Manalikkarai, a hamlet of Kōdanallūr in the Kalkuḷam Taluk. Appreciable difference is noticeable in the formation of letters, between the first 33 lines and the latter portion of the record on the second face extending from line 34 to line 55. The shape of letters in the subsequent portion does not vary much. It may be that the latter portion of the record on the second face of the stone had been incised by a different hand and at some interval of time. Whether the marks,— which look like conch, inserted at the end of lines 35 and 99,— were purposely put in to indicate anything, it is not possible to say. Perhaps they show that the portion was engraved later. If this is the case, the first mark should have been put in at the end of line 33 or the beginning of line 34 where, however, there is no space for it. The letters are incised deep and clear. The Grantha letters that occur in the inscription are *svasti śrī* and *Vṛiśchi* in line 1, *śrī* in line 7, *sabhai* in lines 10, 14, 39 and 43 and *ndradhāra* in line 89.

The language of the inscription is the western dialect of Tamil, quite similar to that employed in the Mitrānandapuram copper-plate edited above. The following forms of words are worthy of note:—

தண்டின்று for தண்டுகின்ற; வாண்ணருளின்ற for வாழ்ந்தருளுகின்ற; கல்ப்பிச்சு for கற்பித்து; வாஞ்ஞு for வாங்கு; வைச்சு for வைத்து; ஒள்ள for உள்ள; கொடுப்பிது for கொடுப்பது; கழிவிது for கழிவது; ஒழிஞ்ஞு for ஒழிந்து; செலவிண்ணு for செலவுக்கு, மாசெனத்தின்னு for மஹாஜநத்துக்கு; பறஞ்ஞு for சொல்லி; தோன்றுகில் and அழிவொண்டாகில் for தோன்றினால் and அழிவுண்டானால்; துவாமி and தவையார் for சுவாமி and சபையார்; and எழுதின்றவரன் for எழுதுகின்றவர்கள்.

The inscription belongs to the time of the Vēṇāḍu king the Vīra-Ravikēraḷavarman, and is dated in the Kollom year 410 + 1 (= A. D. 1236), the month Mēsha

1 There is a dam here known as Pāṇḍiyan-ānai.

and the solar day 27th, expired, when Jupiter was in Vṛiśchika. M. R. Ry. Dewan Bahadur L. D. Swamikkannu Pillai, to whom I sent the details for ascertaining the correct English equivalent, notes:—"On Monday 21st April A. D. 1236 = Koilam 411, Jupiter's mean longitude was 234.84 degrees which being between 216 (end of Tūlā) and 240 (end of Vṛiśchika) is correctly located in Vṛiśchika-rāṣi. Further verification is not possible owing to want of *tithi*, *nakshatra* or week-day. For instance 27 சென்றாள் may mean 28th day or 27th day. The day I have given above was the 28th of Mēsha month". The exact period of rule of this king and the events of his time have yet to be made out. But this record, which is expressly stated to have been drawn up on the lines of the royal order (*tirumugam*), is a very important one and shows the consideration and care which the king had bestowed on the internal administration of his country. The record is not couched in an unambiguous language but the sense is more or less clear.

The object of the inscription is to fix the amount of taxes to be paid on the lands in the possession of the members of the assembly and the *ūrār* of Kōdanallūr. This it does, and adds that during droughts, a reduced assessment, amounting to a fifth only, of the usual rates must be collected; and even from this quantity, 73 *parai* of paddy, required for the expenses of *Baṭṭavṛitti* and *Ōnam*, had to be deducted and the balance realised as an additional charge on the lands which had borne crop in the season. *Arakkal* and *sāral*, mentioned in the inscription, refer evidently to the two instalments in which the annual land assessment appears to have been paid. They seem to have been fixed with reference to the harvest and were perhaps paid in Kumbham and Kanni as at present. The term *taravu* is used in the inscription first in the sense of 'a receipt' (l. 37) and secondly to denote 'a document' (l. 22). It corresponds to the term *tittu* of other records. *Varippulli*, *variyl-pulli*, or *variyum-pulli* means 'an accountant or a collector of rent or tax'; and corresponds to the modern terms *Kaṇakkuppulli* or *Kaṇakkuppillai*. *Kalachchai* is a term similar to *nālichchai* and *parachchai*, very often met with in the records of this country: it means a quantity measured by the *kalam*.

The last words of the inscription state that this stone document was written on the lines chalked out in the *tirumugam* i. e. the royal order. And from lines 6 to 14, we gather that the inscription was the direct result of a conference held among the officers (*adikāriṅal*) of the Vēṇāḍu king Vīra-Ravikēraḷavarman, the members of the village assembly (*sabhaiyār*) and the *ūrār* of Kōdainallūr and a certain Kaṇḍan Tiruvikkiramaṇ of Marudagachchēri, entrusted with the duty of demanding the *kaḍamai* of the same village. As such, the general lines on which the inscription was drawn up should have been indicated in the king's communication. It has been generally taken that *sabhai* was the name by which the village assembly of a Brahmanical village was called; and that *ūrār* denoted the assembly of a Non-Brahmanical village. We cannot be certain if there were villages which were exclusively Brahmanical and others that were exclusively Non-Brahmanical. At any rate, it is very likely that in most villages both classes were represented. If it is correct to take that *sabhai* means the assembly of a Brahmanical village and that *ūrār* denotes a non-Brahmanical assembly, or the assembly of a Non-Brahmanical village, it may be said that in big villages which counted among their inhabitants men of all classes, there should have been both the assemblies viz. the

*sabhaiyār* and the *ūrār*. Perhaps, Kōdanallūr was one such because it contained both the *sabhaiyār* and the *ūrār*. It would, however, be more correct to distinguish the two bodies by the functions they discharged,— whatever might have been their constitution. From the qualifications required for membership in the *sabhai*, it can be inferred that the members of that assembly were mostly Brahmins.<sup>1</sup>

From the phrase *kaḍamai-tanḍiṇṇa*, which occurs in line 11, it is plain that *kaḍamai* stands for assessments on lands. It was in all likelihood a payment in kind rendered by the farmer to the State. *Tanḍu* means 'to ask, demand or collect'; and the nouns derived from it are *tanḍal* (the act of demanding) and *tanḍalkāraṇ* (the person that demands). These terms are still used in revenue phraseology. *Kaḍamai* has to be distinguished from *kārāṇmai* which means the proprietor's share of an estate and corresponds to 'rent'. When combined with the verb '*sey*' the word has its primary significance of 'right of owning lands, leasing them out to tenants for cultivation and deriving a share of the yield'. The term *mērpādi* is sometimes employed to denote 'rent or owner's share of the produce'. It may now be pointed out that besides meaning 'the right of ownership of lands with its attendant duties' and 'the rent of lands', the word *kārāṇmai* is sometimes so used as to denote the office and duties of collecting rents. If the estate had belonged to Government, there would be an officer appointed, as is the case in our record, to demand the *kaḍamai* i. e. assessments as they fell due; and if the estate is one owned by a private individual, the latter would realise the rent himself or through his agents. It is worth noting that an unpublished copper-plate inscription mentions a number of such officers, each one of whom perhaps appointed in respect of the lands of a particular village. In certain grants of lands made to temples, it is specifically stated that the donor reserved to himself and his lawful successors or other stated persons and their descendants the *kārāṇmai* i. e. 'the right of cultivation and that he or they should, with the *mērpādi* i. e. the rent accruing from the land, maintain the gift.

*Kārāṇmai* and *kaḍamai* are clearly distinguished in inscriptions. While the former represents, as explained above, the rent, the latter denotes the assessment proper on lands.

#### Text.

1. ஷ்ஷி ஸ்ரீ [11\*] வரூகத்தில்
2. வியாழ நின்ற யாண்டு
3. கொல்லம் நானூற்று ஒரு-
4. பதாமாண்டைக் கெதிராமா-
5. ண்டு மெடஞாயிறு உயள சென்-
6. ற நாள் வெண்டு வாண்ணருளி-
7. ன்ற ஸ்ரீ விர இரவிகொள-
8. வர்ம்ம திருவடிக்கமை-

1 Vide the Uttaramallūr inscriptions of Parāntaka I published in the Director-General's Annual for 1904-5. Here are detailed the qualifications and disqualifications of members and voters, the mode of election, and the committees into which the *sabhai* was divided.

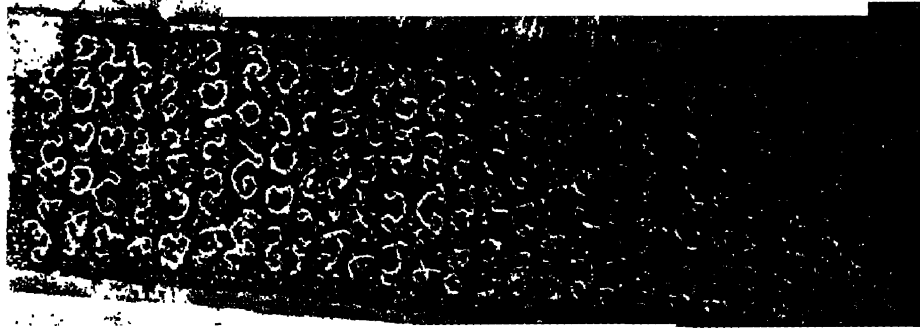
9. ந்த அதிகாரிகளும் கொதைந-
10. ல்லூர் ஸ்லெய்யாரும் ஊர்-
11. ராரும் ஸ்லெய்யூர்க் கடமை தண்டின்-
12. ற மருதகச்செரிக் கண்டந் தி-
13. ருவிக்கிரமனும் கூடி
14. ப்பறஞ்ஞ ஸ்லெய்யடவி-
15. ல் இறைவரி நிலம் ஈயந்-
16. த்தின்மெலும் அரக்கல்
17. கலச்சை ஈவு நெல் ியச்ச-
18. வய்யு சாரல் கடமைக்குர-
19. வு கலச்ச ஈயஉய்நு இய்யு மா-
20. க ஆண்டுவரை கடமைக்கு க-
21. லச்சை ஈவு நெல் ியந்நகூய-
22. யும் ஊரடவு இறைநிலம்
23. ருந்நுத்தின் மெலும் அர-

*Second face.*

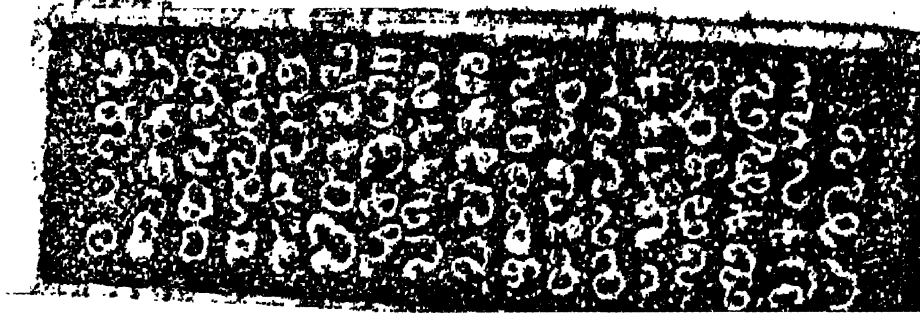
24. க்கல் கடமைக்கு கலச்சை ஈவு-
25. நெல் ஈயந்நகூய அய்யும் சாரல்
26. கலச்சை ஈவு நெல் ஈயந்நகூய
27. இயலுமாக ஆண்டுவரை கடமை
28. க்கு கலச்சை ஈவு நெல் ஈய
29. கூயந்நகூய எச்சயுமாக இறுக்கு-
30. மாறும் கடமை அளந்நா-
31. ல் வரிபுள்ளி பாஞ்ஞ தி-
32. ருமாறும் கரணமெழுத்தின்-
33. வரள் கைய்யால்த் திரதரவு ஒ-
34. ழியுமாறங் கல்ப்பிச்சொம் [11\*] க-
35. டமைக்கு நெல்லளந்நா-
36. ல் வரியில்புள்ளி வாஞ்ஞ
37. துவாமி கையால் தரவு கொள்க [11\*] ஒழிவி-
38. து கடமை சென்று செல்லாத்தத்தின்னு
39. ஆண்டுவரையும் ஸ்லெய்யாரையும்
40. ஊராரையும் வளைச்ச அஞ்சாவி
41. எழுதிப்பிடிப்பிச்ச கடமை
42. யுங் கொண்டு வருவிது [11\*] கரியொள்-
43. ள காலத்து ஸ்லெய்யாரையும் ஊரா-
44. ரும் பற்றுகண்டு அஞ்சொன்றி-
45. னால் ஒண்டாகின்ற முதலுங்குட்-
46. டி விளவொள்ள நிலத்தின் மெல்
47. கடமை கொடுப்பிது [11\*] கரிஞ்ஞ கட-
48. மை பற்று என்று தொன்றுகில் த-
49. பையாரு முராருந் துவாமியொடு
50. சொன்னால் துவாமி பற்றுகண்டு அ-
51. ன்சொன்று கொள்விது [11\*] இம்முதவி-
52. ல் பட்டவிருத்தி ஒண்செலவின்-
53. னு உ ள்ளந்ந மும் அஞ்சொன்றில் க-

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K. V. Subrahmanya Aiyar.



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54. ழிவிது [11\*] ஸை<sup>1</sup> நிலமொழிஞ்ஞ த-  
55. வையார்க்கும் ஊரார்க்கும்

*Third face.*

56. மிக்கும்[மா]-  
57. செனத்தின்-  
58. னு எத்தொ-  
59. ரு அழிவொ-  
60. ண்டாகில்  
61. அம்முதல்-  
62. கு இற நி-  
63. லத்தின்-  
64. மெல் வரி-  
65. யு மெழுதி-  
66. க் கொடுத்து  
67. அம்முதல்-  
68. க்கு பலி-  
69. சையும் பா-  
70. ட்டரியு மொ-  
71. ழிஞ்ஞ தண்-  
72. டிக்கொண்டு  
73. வரியும்  
74. புள்ளி வா-  
75. ஞ்ஞபொவி-  
76. து [11\*] இம்மா-  
77. ர்க்கமன்றி-  
78. யெ செய்வொ-  
79. ருளராகில்  
80. அய்மத்தி-  
81. ரு கழுஞ்(ஞ)-  
82. னு பொன் த-

*Fourth face.*

83. ண்டமும்  
84. வைச்சு பி-  
85. ன்ணையும் இ-  
86. ச்செய்ததெ  
87. காரியமா-  
88. விதாகவும் [11\*]  
89. ஆசனயார-  
90. வல்க் கல-  
91. ப்பிச்சு எ-  
92. முதிய தரவு [11\*]  
93. திருமுகத்-  
94. தில்ப் பட்-  
95. ட மார்க்க-  
96. மெ எழுதிய-  
97. மைக்கு இ-  
98. து கல்வெட்-  
99. டாகும்

1 This is expressed by a symbol.



### Translation.

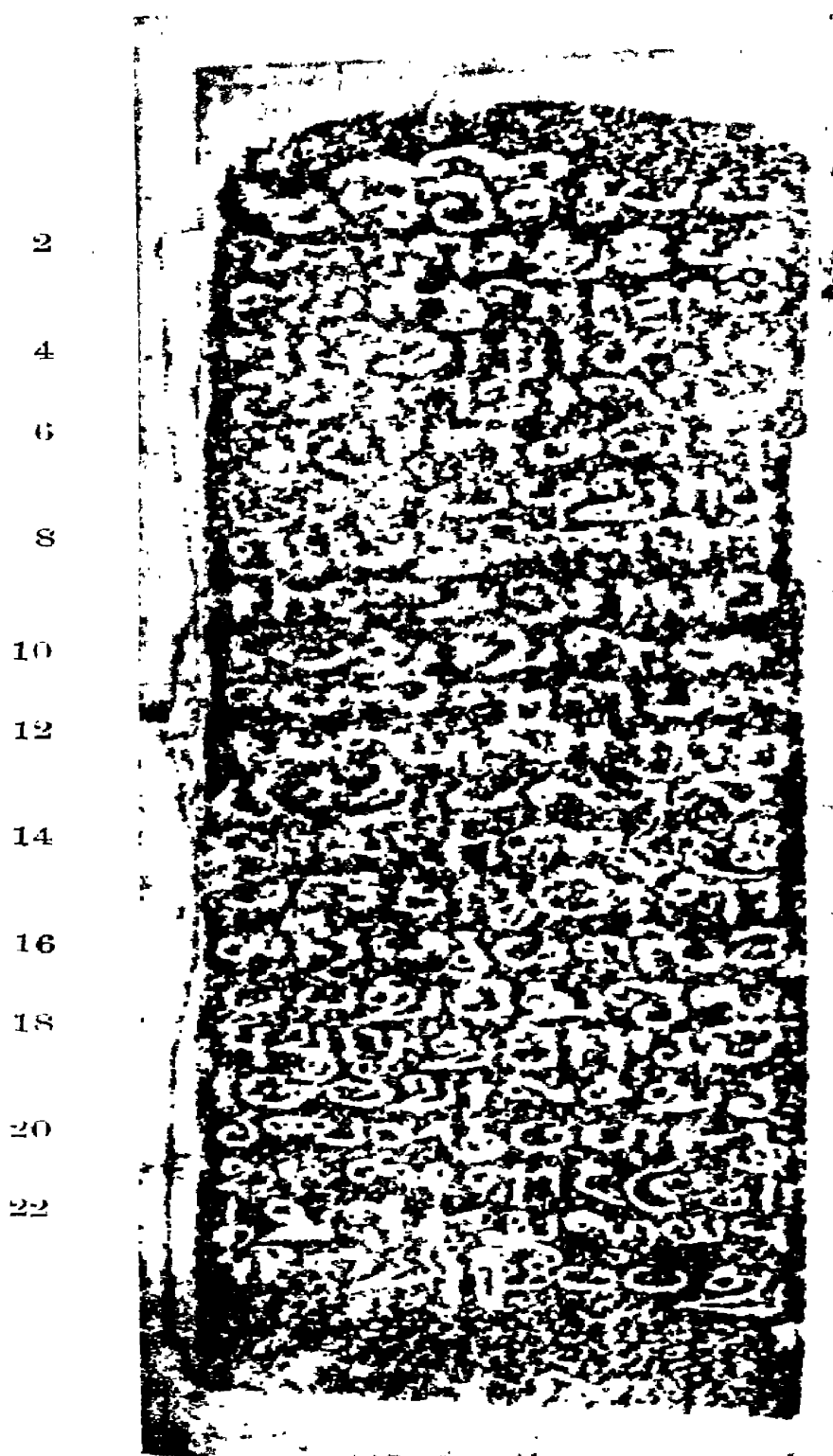
Hail! Prosperity! In the year when Jupiter stood in Vṛiśchika, on the 27th day, expired, in the month of Mēsha of the year opposite to the Kollam year four hundred and ten, the officers of the glorious and powerful Ravikērājavarmaṇ-Tiruvāḍi the ruler of Vēṇāḍu, (*the members of*) the assembly and the *ūrār* of the village of Kōdanallūr and Kaṇḍaṇ Tiruvikkiramaṇ of Marudakachchēri (*whose duty was*) to demand the assessment of the said village, having conferred together, ordered (thus):—

For the taxable lands in the possession of the (*members of the*) assembly, (having a sowing capacity of) . . . (*paraṇai*) of seed, the quantity of paddy to be given as assessment for *arakkal* is . . . and the quantity to be given as assessment for *śāral* is . . . (*thus*) for the whole year, the quantity of paddy to be given as assessment is . . .

For the taxable lands in the possession of the village, (*having a sowing capacity*) of . . . (*paraṇai*) of seed, the quantity of paddy to be given as assessment for *arakkal* is . . . ; and the quantity of paddy to be given as assessment for *śāral* is . . . ; (*thus*) for the whole year the quantity of paddy to be given as *kaḍamaṇai* is . . . It was settled that the taxes shall be paid in the above said manner; that, when the assessment is measured, the accountant shall receive it; and that receipt (*tīrataravu*) acquitting the payment shall be taken from the hands of those who write documents.

When paddy is measured as assessment, *taravu* shall be obtained from the hands of the *svāmi* who receives revenue demands. For the rest (*of the lands*) for which assessment had been paid (*partially*) or for which it had not been paid, the members of the assembly and the village shall be held responsible by a written agreement for realising assessment (*later on*). During the time when there is *kari* (i. e. *famine*), the actual yield shall be ascertained from the members of the assembly and the *ūr*, and an additional amount of one-fifth (*of the kaḍamaṇai*) shall be paid on the lands which had borne crop. If it appear that the yield had failed and that it was insufficient for paying the assessment and if the members of the assembly and the *ūr* represent (*the same*) to the *svāmi*, the *svāmi* shall see the yield (*parṇu*) and take (*only*) one fifth. From this amount of one-fifth, 73 *paraṇai* of paddy (*required*) for the expenses of *Bhaṭṭa-vritti* and *Ōṇam*, shall be deducted. If any damage is caused to the members of the assembly, the *ūr* and other *mahājanas*, (*in respect of other*) lands than the above mentioned ones, the amount (*due thereon*) shall be entered against the taxable lands and the accountant shall be authorised to demand and receive (*the dues only*) leaving off the interest and *pāṭṭari* on it. Any one acting contrary to this settlement shall have to deposit (i. e. shall be liable to the payment of) a fine of fifty-two *kaṇṇaṇju* of gold and shall have also to continue to act in the prescribed way. This written document (*taravu*) was ordered (*to be in force*) as long as the moon and the sun endure: and this stone edict was written in accordance with the method specified in the royal order (*tirumugam*).

No. 20. PANNIPPAKKAM INSCRIPTION.



**No. 20.—An archaic inscription in the Pannippakkam temple.**

The subjoined inscription is reported to be engraved on a pillar set up in the Pannippākkam Śiva temple at Kōdainallūr near Manalikkarai. It is written in archaic Tamil characters: the language is also Tamil. It is not dated; neither does it mention any king. Judging from the palæography of the record, it may be assigned to the beginning of the 9th century A. D. There are no top strokes for the letters *ka*, *cha*, *ta*, *ra*, *na*; the cross portion of *ka* is so slight that it is sometimes difficult to distinguish this letter from *ra*. The loops of *ṇa* and *ṇa* are developed, and the formation of *ra*, *ru*, *na*, *va*, *ṇa*, *tu*, and the vowel *ū* is characteristically old. The only Grantha letters used in the inscription are *svasti śrī* in line 1, *mahādēva* in line 2f and *kshi* in the last line.

The inscription registers a gift of twenty old *kāṣu* for maintaining a perpetual lamp in the temple of Mahādēva at Tiruppanaikūlam. While the direct management of the gift was left in the hands of the *ūrār*<sup>1</sup> of the village and the *dēva-karmis*, the members of the village assembly (*sabhaiyār*) of Brahmanaṅgalam and the *ūrār* of Pāgūr and Kūlaikkōḍu were required to supervise and protect it. Of the places mentioned in the record, Kūlaikkōḍu may be identified with Kūlikkōḍu, one of the villages in the Kalkulam Taluk, which is reported to contain a Bhagavatī temple. Brahmanaṅgalam is perhaps the modern Brahmapuram in the same Taluk; and Tiruppanaikūlam must be that part of Manalikkarai where the Śiva temple is situated. Pāgūrkoṇam is still a hamlet of Kōdanallūr.

**Text.**

1. ஸ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ[ஹ\*] திருப்ப-
2. [ணை]குளத்து ஊர்.
3. ஷேவர்க்கு நொந்தாவி-
4. ளக்கினுக்கு கச்செட்-
5. டி விகளங்கன் இவ்-
6. லூர் ஊரார் கைய்யிற் [கு]-
7. தெத்த பழங்கா[சு]
8. இருபது நிலைவிள-
9. க்கு ஒன்று [ஹ\*] இக்காசு இ-
10. ருபது நறுநெய்
11. பொலி கொள்வதா-
12. கப் பொலிக்குக் கு-
13. டுத்துப் பொலி
14. நெய் கொண்டு [ஊரு]-
15. ம் தெவகருமிகளா<sup>2</sup>-
16. ய் நிற்பாரும் எரிப்பி-
17. ப்பது[ஹ\*] இது செல-

1 On *sabhaiyār* and *ūrār*, see above, p. 60f.

2 Read தெவகன்மி.

18. வு ஆராய்ந்து<sup>1</sup> இக்காசு பி-
19. ரமமங்கலத்துச்
20. சவையாரும் பாகூரு-
21. ன் கூழைக்கொட்டு [ஆ]ரா-
22. ருங் கைகாவலாய் பு-
23. ற நின் று ரக்ஷிப்பது [||\*]

### Translation.

Hail! Prosperity! For (*burning*) a perpetual lamp in (*the temple of*) Mahādeva at Tiruppanaikulam, Kachchētti Vikalañkan gave in the hands of the *ūrār* of this village twenty old *kāsu* and one lamp-stand. The (*members of the*) *ūr* and those that stand as *dēvakanmis* (*i. e. temple managers*) shall lend out for interest these twenty *kāsu* on condition of receiving good ghee as interest and shall burn (*the lamp*) with this interest of ghee. The members of the assembly of Brahmanāṅgalam and the *ūrār* of Pāgūr and Kūlaikkōḍu shall scrutinise this payment and protect these twenty *kāsu*, guarding them from outside.

### No. 21.—Pannippakkam inscription of Kollam 735.

This inscription is reported to be engraved on the granite pedestal of Nandikēśvara in the temple of Mahādeva at Pannippakkam in the Kalkulam Taluk. It is dated in Kollam 735 (= A. D. 1559), and registers a gift of land made to a certain Ayyikkutṭi for playing on the flute in the temple. References to flute (*kulal*) in inscriptions are very rare.

At my request, M. R. Ry. Dewan Bahadur L. D. Swamikkannu Pillai had been kind enough to verify the date. He notes:—Kollam 735, Kārttigai, 16 expired, Wednesday, Rōhiṇi, ba 2=Wednesday 15th November A. D. 1559: On this day Rōhiṇi ended at .72 of day (=43 *ghaṭikas* after mean sunrise); while *bahula* 1 began at .09 of day (5½ *ghaṭikas* after mean sunrise). The day could be called either *Sukla* 15, which ended at .09, or *bahula* 1, which began at the same moment, but it could not be called *bahula* 2 which, if the reading is quite clear,<sup>2</sup> must be an error for ba. 1. The month day was 16 Kārttigai and the 'expired' does not add a day to 16, as it does in other cases.

### Text.

1. ஹரி: கொல்லம் எராநயிருந்ரு கா-
2. த்திகை மா தம் யிசு சென்ற பு-

1 *ய்* is written below the line.

2 The reading of த்ரீ of த்ரீதிகை is by no means certain. After அமர there are what look like a ப and another corrected or cancelled syllable: But there is no mistaking the syllables திகையும் which follow. The only prefixes that are admissible in the case are த்ரீ or த்ரீ and the former has been adopted. Another possible reading, if we leave off the cancelled or corrected letter, is அமரபாதிகையும்; but this does not help us over the difficulty for the day must be either வெளண்செனெ or புயசெனெ according to calculation.

3. தனாட்சையும் உரோகணியும்
4. அமரப[சுத\*] [தி]திகையும் இந்நாளால்
5. நயினார் திருப்பன்றிப்பாகத்து மா-
6. தெவர்க்கு மூன்று நெரமும் சன்னிதியில்
7. சூழல் வாசிக்க நயினான் அழக-
8. ன் அய்யிக்குட்டிக்கு குடுத்த நிலம்
9. வண்ணன்குளத்தின் கிடை[ழ\*] மந்தாரத்தடி-
10. தடி<sup>1</sup> க உ சமா<sup>2</sup>யும் பெருங்குளத்தாலும் வ-
11. ள்ளி ஆற்றிலும் நிருண்டு நெல்விளையும்
12. குசித்தியறை தடி க உ சமா<sup>2</sup>[வு]ம் ஆக தடி<sup>1</sup> உ னால் உ அ
13. மாயும் புல்லுவினை துண்டம் இரண்டும்

### Translation.

Hari! On this day, (*i. e.*) the 16th, expired, of the month of Kārttikai of the Kollam year 735 which corresponded to a Wednesday, the Rōhiṇī (*Nakshatra*) and the second of the dark-fortnight, the (*following*) lands were given to Nayinār Aḷagaṇ Ayyikkutti for playing on the flute, thrice daily, in front of the god Mahādēva of Tiruppaṇṇippākam:—

4 *mā* of land (*comprised in*) 1 *taḍi* in (*the field called*) Mandārattaḍi, fed by the tank Vannāṅkuḷam, and 4 *mā* of land (*comprised in*) 1 *taḍi* in the paddy-growing field of Kuṣittiyarai, fed by the water of the Peruṅguḷam tank and the Valliyāru river,—in all 8 *mā* of land (*comprised in*) 2 *taḍi*,—together with two pieces of grass-growing land.

### No. 22.—Suchindram inscription of Vira-Pandya: regnal year 7.

This inscription, which is found on the rock near the Kailāsa shrine in the Śiva temple at Suchindram, is engraved in the Vaṭṭeḷuttu alphabet with a Sanskrit verse in Grantha characters at the commencement. The language is Tamil. It is dated in the seventh year of the reign of the early Pāṇḍya sovereign Vīra-Pāṇḍya, who took the head of the Chōḷa king. The object of the inscription is to register a gift of land made by the chief Tenṇavaṇ Anukkappallavaraiyaṇ *alias* Vīranārāyaṇaṇ of Uṇṇappūr in Nāṭṭārupuram, to the temple of Paramēśvara at Tiruchchivīndiram in Nāṇji-nāḍu, for burning a sacred lamp, for laying out a flower-garden and supplying garlands and vegetables.

Vīra-Pāṇḍya of the subjoined record is in all probability a contemporary of Sundara-Chōḷa Parāntaka II and of his son Āditya II *alias* Karikāla, who flourished in the third quarter of the 10th century A. D.<sup>3</sup> Of Āditya Karikāla, the large Leyden plates report that he, the light of the family of Manu, while yet a boy,

1 தடி is expressed by a symbol.

2 மா is denoted by a symbol.

3 Sketches of Ancient Dekhan p. 240f.

played sportively in battle with Vīra-Pāṇḍya, as a lion's cub with a large elephant, wild with passion and confident of his strength.<sup>1</sup> And the Tiruvālaṅkāḍu plates add that he killed the Pāṇḍya king in battle, and having deposited in his town the lofty pillar of victory (viz) the head of the Pāṇḍya, he disappeared from this world with a desire to see heaven.<sup>2</sup> The battle of Chēvūr referred to in the Leyden grant must be taken to have been fought by Parāntaka II himself, because Āditya was then only a boy; and the statement of the plates shows that Vīra-Pāṇḍya was not killed on this occasion. In this connection, it is also worth noting that Sundara-Chōḷa's stone records found in the Tanjore district state that he drove the Pāṇḍya king into the forest.<sup>3</sup> The Kanyākūṇāri inscription also reports that the Pāṇḍya contemporary of Sundara-Chōḷa, contemplating on the prosperity of the Chōḷas, sheltered himself in forest.<sup>4</sup> It is not unlikely that in the sanguinary battle of Chēvūr the opponent of Sundara-Chōḷa was this Vīra-Pāṇḍya. I have elsewhere indicated that much time could not have lapsed between the demise of Parāntaka I, which took place in about A. D. 953, and the accession of Sundara-Chōḷa; that the latter event should be placed in the same year, perhaps after a few months when Gaṇḍarāditya and Ariṇjaya should have ruled over the Chōḷa dominion in succession; that Sundara-Chōḷa was the only Rājakesari in the interval between Parāntaka I and Rājarāja I, that had had to contend against the Pāṇḍyas; and as such the epigraphs of Madiraikoṇḍa Rājakesarivarman, ranging in date up to the 17th year of reign should be correctly ascribed to Sundara-Chōḷa. My surmise that Sundara-Chōḷa must have been a Rājakesari has been confirmed by the newly discovered Aṇḇil plates. It has also been shown that Madhurāntakan Uttama-Chōḷa and Āditya II *alias* Karikāla reigned together after Sundara-Chōḷa, as the title Parakesarivarman assumed by both clearly indicates. The accession of Uttama-Chōḷa being fixed at A. D. 969-70, the period of rule of Sundara-Chōḷa, which extended to 17 years before that date, comes to 953-970. Since the title 'who drove the Pāṇḍya into the forest' occurs in the 4th year inscription of Sundara-Chōḷa, his encounter with the Pāṇḍyas must have happened in or prior to A. D. 957 and if future researches prove the correctness of the identification of Sundara-Chōḷa's Pāṇḍya contemporary with Vīra-Pāṇḍya, the latter's commencement of rule may be taken to A. D. 957. In all likelihood, Vīra-Pāṇḍya must have succeeded Rājasimha. In this connection, it is worth noting that in an unpublished inscription of Tirupuḍaimarudūr,<sup>5</sup> dated in the 2+18th year of the reign of Śaḍaiyamāṇan, the title by which Rājasimha appears to have been known, reference is made to Vīra-Pāṇḍya, who must be none other than his son.

The other name Araiyan-Vīranārāyaṇan, borne by the chief mentioned in the subjoined record, shows that Vīra-Pāṇḍya had the surname Vīranārāyaṇa. This fact is also of importance as it indicates that he must have been so called after his grandfather Parāntaka-Vīranārāyaṇa-Śaḍaiyaṇ.

1 *Archæological Survey of Southern India*, Vol. IV. p. 217.

2 Verses 67 and 68. *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. III. Part III, p. 420.

3 *Ep. Ind.* Vol. XII. pp. 121 ff.

4 See below No. 34.

5 Madras Epigraphist's collection for 1905, No. 128.



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The place names mentioned in the inscription are Nāñji-nādu, the ancient territorial division which included in it a number of villages in South Travancore; Tiruchchivīndiram, the ancient name of Suchīndram; Dēvarkuḷam, Vaikundapuram, Nripasēkharavaḷanallūr, Taṇṇaḷanallūr, Ālaṅgādu and Karkādu, which must all be found in the vicinity of Suchīndram; and Urappanūr in Nāṭṭārrupuram. Dēvarkuḷam is a hamlet in Tērūr Pakuthy: Kakkāṭṭūr or Kakkāṭṭuch-  
chēri is a hamlet in Suchindram Pakuthy.

Nāṭṭārruppōkku occurs in an inscription of Tirukkurungudi where it is said that it was a *brahmadēya*. It is not known if the Nāṭṭārrupuram of our inscription is identical with or different from Nāṭṭārruppōkku.

Text.

1. ஸ்ரீ [ஸ்ரீ] [||\*] . . . காவலேவ . . . . .  
புராணநடு விரநாராயண:
2. பூதாசி மெ . . . யஸ்துவை [சொ]ழன் [றலேகொ]ண்ட கொ வி-  
ரபாண்டயற்கு மா-
3. ண்டு நான்கு இதனெதிர் முன்று இவ்வாண்[டு] நாஞ்சிநாட்டுத் திரு-  
ச்சி-
4. விர்திரத்து வரலெயுற்கு நாட்டாற்றுப்புறத்து உறப்ப-
5. னூர் தென்னவன் அணுக்கப்பல்லவரையனாயின அரையன் விரநாரா-
6. யணன் [நி]சத[ம்] உரிய<sup>1</sup> நெய் எரிவதாக வைத்த திருநொந்தாவி-
7. ளக்கொன்றி[னு]க்கும் திருப்பள்ளித்தாமத்துக்கும் கறி ஆமிது-
8. க்குமாக ஆற்றுக்க மெக்கு பெருவழிக்கு வடக்கு தெவர் -ள-
9. த்துக்கெய் பொன வழிக்குக் கிழக்கு [வை] சந்தபுரத்துக் களத்து-
10. க்குத் தெற்கு இந்நடுவிற்பட்ட [நில]ம் அணுக்கப்பல்லவரை-
11. யனென்று பெர் இட்டமைய்த்த [நந்த]வானத்துக் க வெண்டும்
12. விசத்துக்குமாக வைய்த்த லு[மி] இ[ச்சி]விர்திரத்து வரலெ-
13. னூர் தெவதானம் ஸுவசெக[ரவளநல்லூ]ர் ஆற்றுக்கு மெக்கு [தெ]-
14. ன்வளநல்லூர்க்கு வடக்கும் . . . . . லங்காட்டுக்கும் கற்காட்டு-
15. க்கும் கிழக்கு ஆற்றுக் சத் [தெற்கு||\*]இ[ந்நடு]விற்பட்ட உண்ணில-
16. [ம் ஓ]ழிவின்றி முன் காராண்மை . . . . .<sup>2</sup>[மா]ற்றி உடையாரை  
உவவுங்க-
17. . . . . பொது இந்நிலத் . . . . . ரம் வழி வந்த ஹோமம்
18. . . . . [நொந்தாவி]ளக்கு . . . . . நந்தவானத்துக்கும் செல்
19. . . . .<sup>3</sup>த்தென் அணுக் . . . . .<sup>4</sup>ல்லவரையனாயின அ-  
ரைய-
20. . . . .<sup>5</sup>ண்ணமன்றியெ மற்று விவ-
21. . . . . ற முலபரடை ஸலெ-
22. . . . . ஆரெனுந் டேவர் ல
23. . . . .

1 Read உரி.

2 This gap may be filled up with the letters உடையாரை மா.

3 This gap can be filled up with the syllables வதாகக்குடு.

4 The letters missing here are கப்ப.

5 This gap must have contained the syllables ன் விரநாராயணனென் இவ்வ.



### Translation.

Hail ! Prosperity ! Vīranārāyaṇa gave . . . . to (*the temple of*) Śambhu (*i. e. Śiva*) . . . . a sacred lamp.

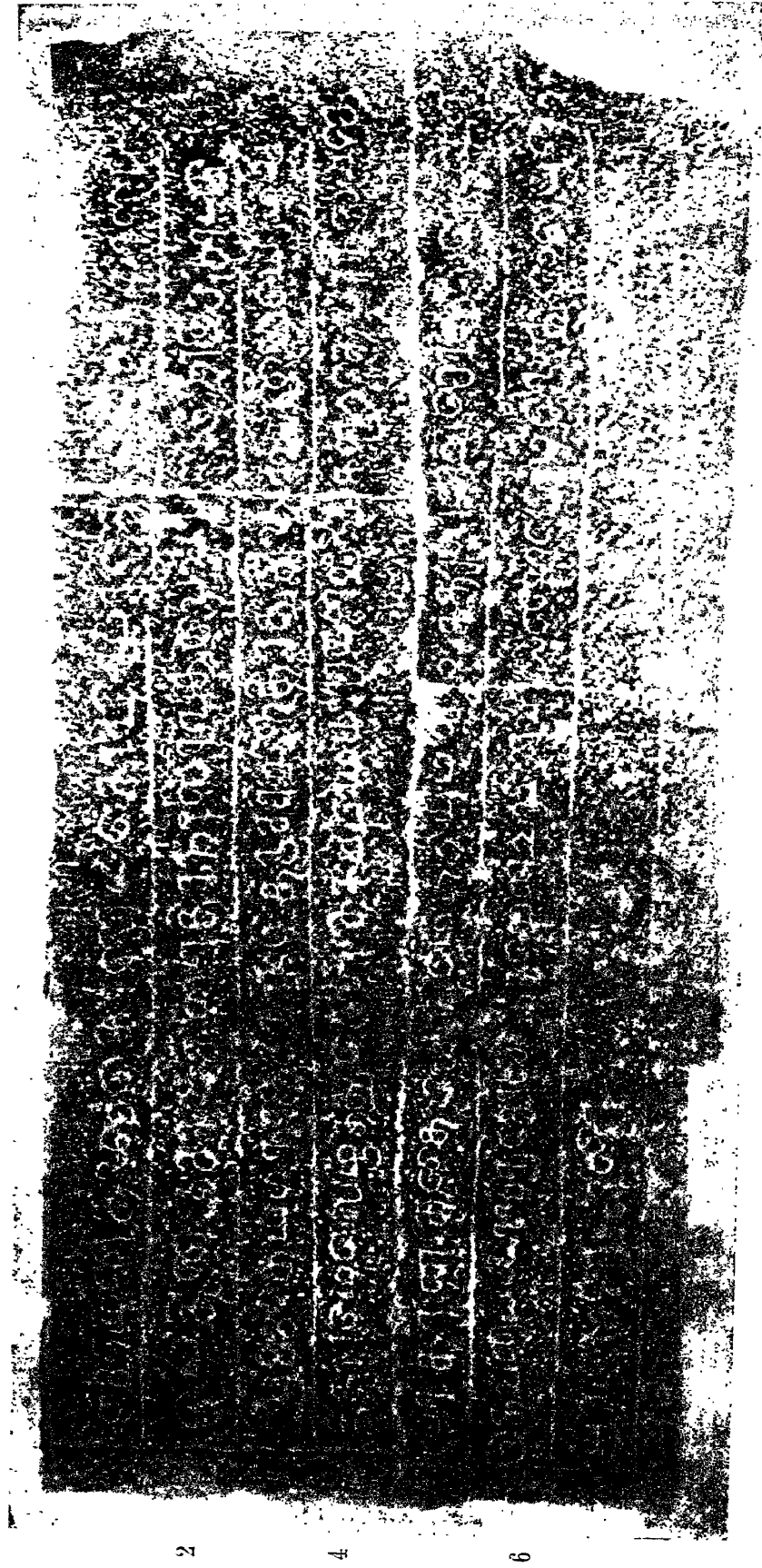
In this year, (*i. e.*) the third opposite the fourth year of (*the reign of*) king Vīra-Pāṇḍya, who took the head of the Chōla (*sovereign*), Teṇṇavaṇ Aṇukkappallavaraiyaṇ *alias* Araiyaṇ Vīranārāyaṇaṇ of Uṇṇappāṇūrin Nāṭṭāṇṇuppuram, gave, to (*the temple of*) Parmēśvara (*i. e. Śiva*) at Tiruchchivīndiram (*situated*) in Nāṇji-nāḍu, the land,—situated to the west of the river (*flowing through*) Nṛipaśēkharavaḷanallūr which was a *dēvadāna* of (*the temple of*) Paramēśvara of this Śivīndiram, to the north of Teṇṇaḷanallūr, to the east of [Ā]laṅgāḍu . . . . and Karkāḍu, and to the south of the river,—for one sacred lamp to be burnt daily with (*one*) *uri* of ghee, for sacred flower-garlands, for vegetable offerings and for the maintenance of the flower-garden named Aṇukkappallavaraiyaṇ which was laid in the land lying within the four (*boundaries*) *viz.* to the west of the river; to the north of the trunk-road; to the east of the path leading to Dēvar-kuḷam; and to the south of the Vaikundapuram tank.

(All) this land, lying whithin these (*boundaries*), without the exclusion of *uṇṇilam*, (*had been obtained by paying*) money to, and changing the ownership of, those who previously held the right of *kārāṇmai* . . . . with the *bhōga* (*i. e. income*) received by way of *karam* for sacred lamps, sacred flower-garden . . . . (by) Teṇ[ṇavaṇ] Aṇukkappallavaraiyaṇ *alias* Araiyaṇ Vīranārāyaṇaṇ. Any one . . . . contrary to the above said manner . . . . the members of the assembly.

### No. 23.—Suchindram Inscription of Vira-Pandya: regnal year 19.

This is also an inscription of the same king, found on the wall near the same rock. It is engraved in Tamil characters which, however, appear to be much later than the time to which it relates *i. e.* the reign of Vīra-Pāṇḍya. As it is, the present record is left unfinished and contains some evident misreading of the original in the name Vaṅgaṇṇadēvar occurring in line 4. In the same line, what looks like Śērāntaka may also be read as Śōlāntaka. In all probability, it is a copy of an earlier document which should have been complete.

The object of the inscription is evidently to register the finding of the assembly of Suchīndram in an enquiry which they appear to have held in connection with a report made by the officer Śērāntaka Brahmamārāyaṇ that a certain person sold and mortgaged the *dēvadāna* lands for which he had not presumably the right to do. As regards the question of legality of the transaction, involved in the case, it is worth noting that cultivators or managers of *dēvadāna* properties had only the right of enjoyment under stipulated conditions, one of such being the performance of some specified service. From the accusation made by the officer, it is plain that persons who had been assigned *dēvadāna* lands had not the power to alienate their holdings by mortgage or sale.



<sup>1</sup>In cases of assignments made for specific purposes such as for conducting worship in temples, for supplying music, *etc.*, it is said that donees and their descendants must do the service, receiving the income set apart it; that in cases where men possessing the requisite qualifications could not be found among the descendants, competent men must be chosen from among the relations of the unqualified persons to do the service and to receive the remuneration fixed therefor; and failing to get qualified men among such relations, other competent hands must be appointed to do the work.

**Text.**

1. சொழன் தலைகொண்ட கொ விரபாண்டியற்கு யான்-
2. டு பதனஞ்சாவதின் எதிர் நாலாவது இவ்வாண்டு நாஞ்சிநாட்டு
3. ஸ்ரீதேயம்<sup>2</sup> நாஞ்சிநாட்டு திருச்சிவிந்திர[த்\*]து ஊவையெய்யாம்  
யு-
4. திகாரமெழுத்து செ[ரா]ந்தகப் பிரம்மாராயன் வங்கன்றதெவர் நிலம்  
தெ-
5. வர்நானத்தை விலையு மொற்றியும் வைத்தாரென்று சொல்ல கெட்-  
டென்
6. தெவன் பட்டாங்கு சொல்லுகவென்று வினவ ஸ்ரீதேயம் இருந்து  
விலையு[ம்\*] ஒற்றி-
7. யுங் கொண்டாரை

**Translation.**

This is the authorised writing of the great assembly of the *brhmadēya* of Nāñjināṭṭu-Tiruchchivīndiram in Nāñji-nāṭṭu, made in this year (*i. e.*) the fourth opposite to the fifteenth year of (*the reign of*) king Vīra-Pāṇḍya, who took the head of the Chōḷa (king).

Sērāntaka Brahmamārāyaṇ having reported, as heard by him, that Vaṅga-nṛadēvar sold and mortgaged *dēvadāna* lands and Dēvaṇ having been asked to narrate (*the facts*) as they actually occurred, we, the members of the assembly, being present . . . . . those who had purchased or obtained on mortgage.

**No. 24.—Suchindram Inscription of Vira-Pandya: regnal year 14.**

This is also an inscription of the early Pāṇḍya king Vīra-Pāṇḍya who took the head of the Chōḷa sovereign. It is engraved in the Vatteluttu characters on the rock near the Kailāsa shrine in the Śiva temple at Suchīndram and is dated in the year opposite to the thirteenth of his reign. It registers a grant of money *viz.* 30

1 *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. II. Part III, pp. 256-279, *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XI. pp. 184ff and *Historical Sketches of Ancient Dekkan* p. 334.

2 Read ஸ்ரீ ஊவையெய்யம்.

ṛāḷakkāśu by the chief Śērāntaka Pallavaraiyaṇ *alias* Māraṇāchchan<sup>1</sup> of Poliyūr in Poliyūr-nādu in order to maintain a perpetual light near the god, in the central shrine of the Śiva temple at Suchindram. It is interesting to note that the money was paid into the hands of the members of the village assembly and that they bound themselves to invest it on land, get the income arising therefrom by way of interest, and to supply the necessary articles viz. ghee, wick etc. for burning the lamp, the capital remaining always undisturbed. The title Śērāntaka conferred on the chief might have been derived from one of the surnames of the king.

### Text.

1. ஸ்ரீ ஸ்ரீ [11\*] சொழன்றலைகொண்ட கொ விரபாண்டியற்கு யாண்டு பதின்-
2. முன்றும் யாண்டி நெதிராமாண்டு நாஞ்சிநாட்டு ஸ்ரீஹ்ஷெயம் தி-
3. ருச்சிவிந்திரத்து லடாரற்கு பொழிணர்நாட்டுப் பொழிணர்[ச் செ-
4. ராந்தகப் பல்லவரையனான மாறஞ்சன் இததெவர் தி நுவண்ணழி-
5. கைஇல் மெ[ஸ-]மரஹத்திஸ் [நின்]று இவ்வாண்டு நாள் அறுநாற்று
6. லம்பத்து நாலு முதல் அந்நாழிவதுவல்<sup>2</sup> இரவும் பகலும் நி-
7. யதம் உரிய நெய்யால் முட்டாமெய் எரிவதாக வைச்ச திருநொ-
8. ந்தாவிளக்கு ஒன்று நிறை துலாம் [11\*] இதற்கு வைச்ச நெய் [உரி]-
9. யு ன்நாழிவதுவற் முட்டாமெய் [அ]ட்டுவதாக இவ்வூர் ஊமாஸலெ-
10. யார்வசம் லுதிமெலிட்டு லுதிப் பொலியூட்டு அட்டுவதா-
11. [க]ப் பொலிக்கு முதலாக வைச்ச ஈழக்காசு முப்பது [11\*] இம்முப்-
12. பதுங் கொண்டு இக்காசு பூமி[மெ]லி டுப் பூமிப் பொலியூ
13. ட்டு அட்டுவொமாயினெம் [ஊமாஸலெ]யொடி [11\*] இவ்விளக்கு-
14. ந் [தி]ரியும் நிலத்துக்கு . . . . .<sup>3</sup> இட்டகாசு ஒன்று [11\*] இவ்-
15. விளக்கு அந்நாழிவதுவல் முட . . . . .<sup>4</sup> பகலைக்குந் தி-
16. [ரி] இடுவதா[க] இவ்வூர் வண் . . . . . யடுத்த
17. காசு ஒன்று [11\*] இவ்விளக்கு . . . . . இ-
18. து ஈகூத்தாருடைய ஸ்ரீபா . . . . .<sup>5</sup>

### Translation.

Hail ! Prosperity ! In the year opposite to the thirteenth year of (*the reign of*) king Vīra-Pāṇḍya, who took the head of the Chōḷa (*sovereign*), Śērāntaka-Pallavaraiyaṇ *alias* Māraṇāchchan of Poliyūr in Poliyūr-nādu gave one sacred lamp, weighing (*one*) *tuḷām*, to the (*temple of the god*) Bhaṭāra of Tiruchchivīndiram which was a *brahmadēya* in Nāñji-nādu (*so that it may be*) kept in the *sanctum* of the central shrine and (*allowed to*) burn daily with (*one*) *wri* of ghee night and day, from the commencement of the six-hundred and fifty-fourth

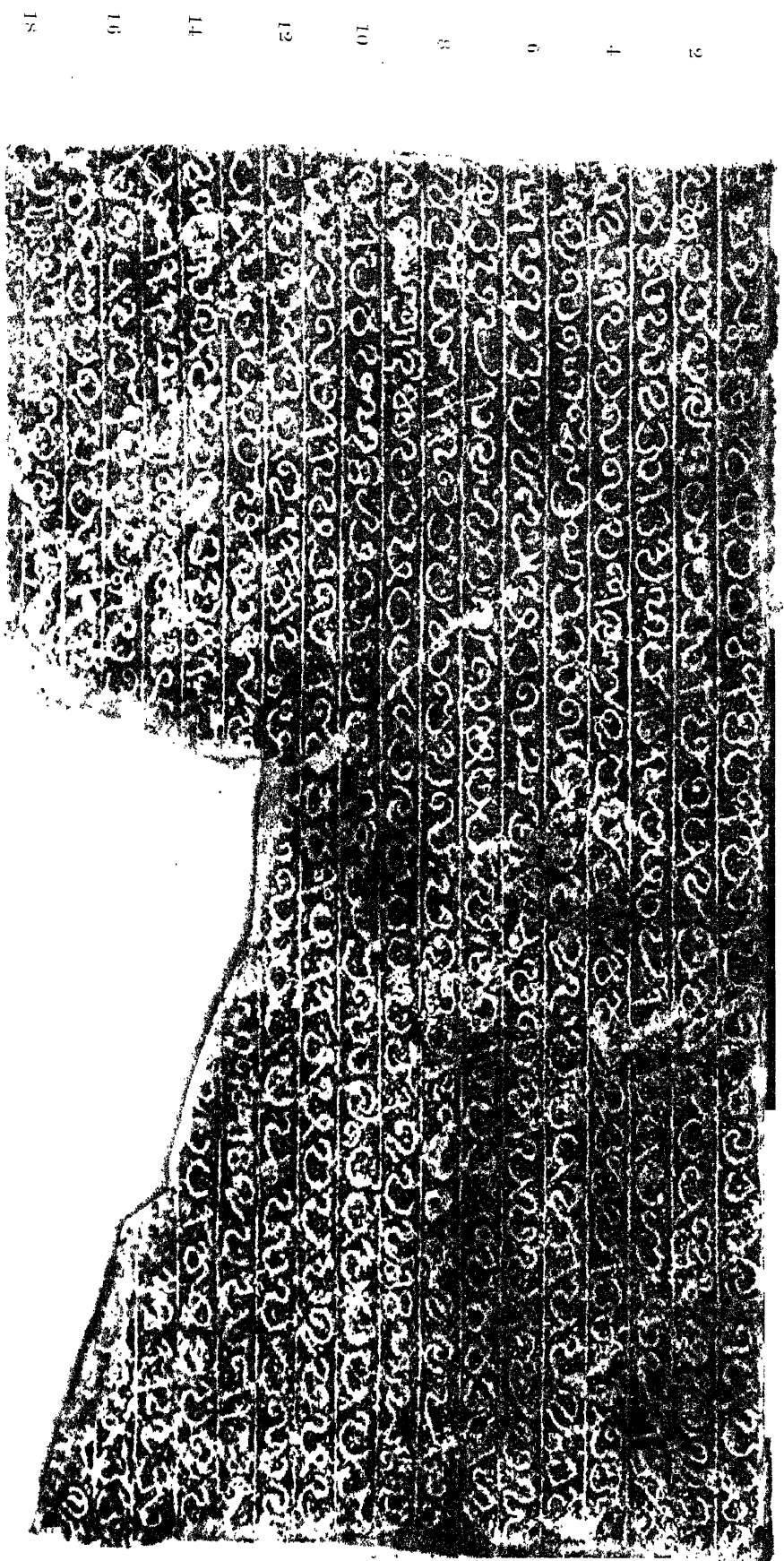
1 The same person figures in an inscription of Edirkōṭṭai in the Ramuad district; but there the title is read as Śōḷāntaka.

2 Read அந்நாழிவதுவல்.

3 பொலியூட்டாக is the word required here.

4 The missing letters are டாமெ எரிவதாக இரவும்.

5 This gap may be filled up with the syllables தம் என்றலை மேலன.



day of this (*regnal*) year,<sup>1</sup> till the moon and the sun last. In order that (*one*) *uri* of ghee provided for this (*lamp*) may be measured out without default as long as the moon and the sun (*endure*), thirty *īlakkūṣu* were deposited, as capital, for bearing interest, with the members of the great assembly of this village, so that the amount may be invested on land and produce interest. We, the members of the great assembly, having received this (*amount of*) thirty *īlakkūṣu*, bound (*ourselves*) to invest (*it*) on land and supply the income. For supplying wick without default, [night] and day for burning this lamp (*as long as the*) moon and the sun (*endure*), one *kūṣu* was given to the [washerman] of this village. This lamp . . . . . The sacred [feet] of those who protect this (*charity*) [shall be on my head].

**No. 25.— Suchindram Inscription of Vira-Pandya: regnal year 8.**

This inscription of Vira-Pandya is also engraved on the same rock at Suchindram. The alphabet is Vatteluttu and the language Tamil. It is dated in the fourth year opposite to the fourth year of the reign of the king. Like the Trivandrum museum stone inscription of Māraṇjadaiyan, this epigraph would have mentioned, if complete, some battle fought by the king. Unfortunately, that portion of it is not accessible for copying as it is built in by the shrine of Kailāsa. Mention is made in line 4 of a regiment named Tennāṭṭu-<sup>2</sup>Mutta-Oṛrai-Śēvagar and to its commander.

**Text.**

1. ஹைதி ஸ்ரீ [ஈ] சொழன்நல்கொண்ட கொ விரபாண்-
2. டுயற்புயாண்டி நான்காமாண்டி நெதிர் நான்-
3. கார் பாரண்டி லவம்பாசித்திங்கள தென்னாட்டு
4. [ஈ]த்த ஸ்நந்தரச்செவகரில செவகர் ஆரைய-
5. . . . . ங்களில் பாய்-
6. . . . .

**Translation.**

Hail ! Prosperity ! In the month of Vaigāsi of the fourth year opposite to the fourth year of (*the reign of*) king Vira-Pandya, who took the head of the Chōla (*king*), the chief of the regiment of soldiers named Mūta-Oṛrai-chēvagar of Ten-pāḍu . . . . .

**No. 26.— Suchindram Inscription of Vira-Pandya: regnal year 10.**

This inscription is engraved in the Vatteluttu alphabet and the Tamil language, on the rock near the Kailāsa shrine at Suchindram. It is dated in the 10th year of the reign of Vira-Pandya and registers a gift of sheep for maintaining a

1 Since it is stated that the lamp has to be maintained from the interest accruing on the money granted by the donor by an investment of it on landed property and since usually such interests are paid once every year at the time of the harvest, the first interest would become due only a year after the grant. Hence the donation may be said to have been made on the (654-minus 265) 289th day of the regnal year in order that the object of the grant may take effect from the 654th day of the same regnal year. Such citation of days is not uncommon.

2 On Tennāḍu see above p. 54.

lamp in the temple of Tiruchchivīndirattuu-Emberumān, by a native of Tirukkōlūr in Tiruvalūdi-vaṇanādu. The Sanskrit letters that occur in the inscription are *śrasti śrī* in line 1 and *saṁkīrānti* in line 3. Tirukkōlūr may be identified with Tirukkaḷūr in the Tiruchchendūr Taluk of the Tinnevely district. The Tamilised Sanskrit words in the inscription are *niyadam*, *paraḍai*, *niyāyam* and *śavai-yār*: they are derived from *niyata*, *parishad*, *nikāya* and *sabhā*. It is not quite unlikely that *niyāyam* is the Tamil form of *nikāya* and not of *nyāsa*. It seems to denote a class or body of men entrusted with certain fixed functions, which, however, are not apparent at present. The word *niyāyam* also figures in inscriptions as the title of a body of men, who are mostly of the military class, e. g. Niyāyam-Perundanattu-Vaṇaṅgai-Vēḷaikkāra-padaikaḷ, Niyāyam-Sirudanattu-Vaṇaṅgai-Vēḷaikkāra-padaikaḷ, Niyāyam-Sirudanattu-paṇimakkal, and Niyāyam-Uttamaśōḷa-terinda-andaḷagattāḷar.<sup>1</sup>

### Text.

1. ஸ்ரஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ [11\*] சொழன்றலைகொண்ட கொ விரபாண்டி-
2. யர்க்கு யா[ண்]டு நான்கு இதனெதிர் ஆறு இவ்-
3. வாண்டு கன்னிராயிறு பிறந்த ஸங்கிராத்தி மு-
4. தலாகத் திருச்சிவிந்திரத்து எம்பெருமானு-
5. க்கு நியதம் உழக்கு நெய் முட்டாமல் எரி-
6. வதாகத் திருவழுதிவளநாட்டுத் திருக்கொளுர்ச் சா-
7. த்தஞ் சிங்கம் வைத்த சிரிநொந்தாவிளக்கு ஒ-
8. ன்று [11\*] இதுக்கு விட்ட சாவா முவாப் பெராடு
9. முன்று நியாயமும் பிழையாதன ஐயம்-
10. பது [11\*] இவை பருடைச் சவையார்க்கு காட்டி குடு-
11. த்தன [11\*]

### Translation.

Hail ! Prosperity ! In the sixth year opposite to the fourth of (*the reign of*) king Vīra-Pāṇḍya, who took the head of the Chōḷa (*sovereign*) Śāttam Śiṅgam, (*a native*) of Tirukkōlūr in Tiruvalūdi-vaṇanādu gave one sacred lamp<sup>2</sup> (*which had to be*) burnt, from the *saṁkīrānti* (*day*) of the month of Kaṇṇi of this year, with (*one*) *uḷakku* of ghee per day, without any impediment, in (*the temple of*) Emberumān at Tiruchchivīndiram. For this (*lamp*) were assigned fifty ewes which neither die nor grow old and which had not wronged the three bodies (*niyāyam*).<sup>3</sup> These were shown (*i. e. brought before*) and given to the members of the assembly.

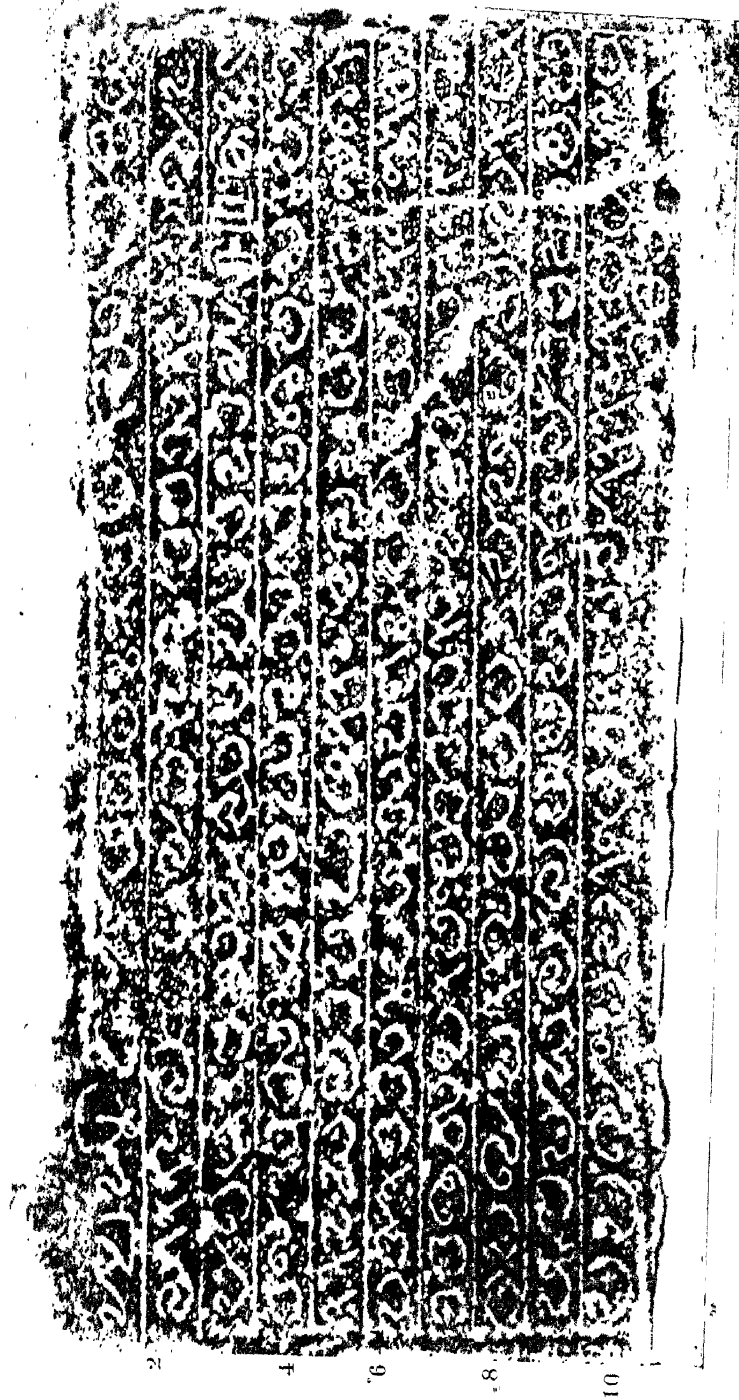
1 *South-Indian Inscription*, Vol. II. pp. 96f, 100-105 and 256.

2 *Tiri-nondā uḷakku*, means 'a lamp whose wick requires no trimming'. It is not incorrect to take *tiri* as the Tamil form *śrī* which is sometimes written as *śri* in Tamil.

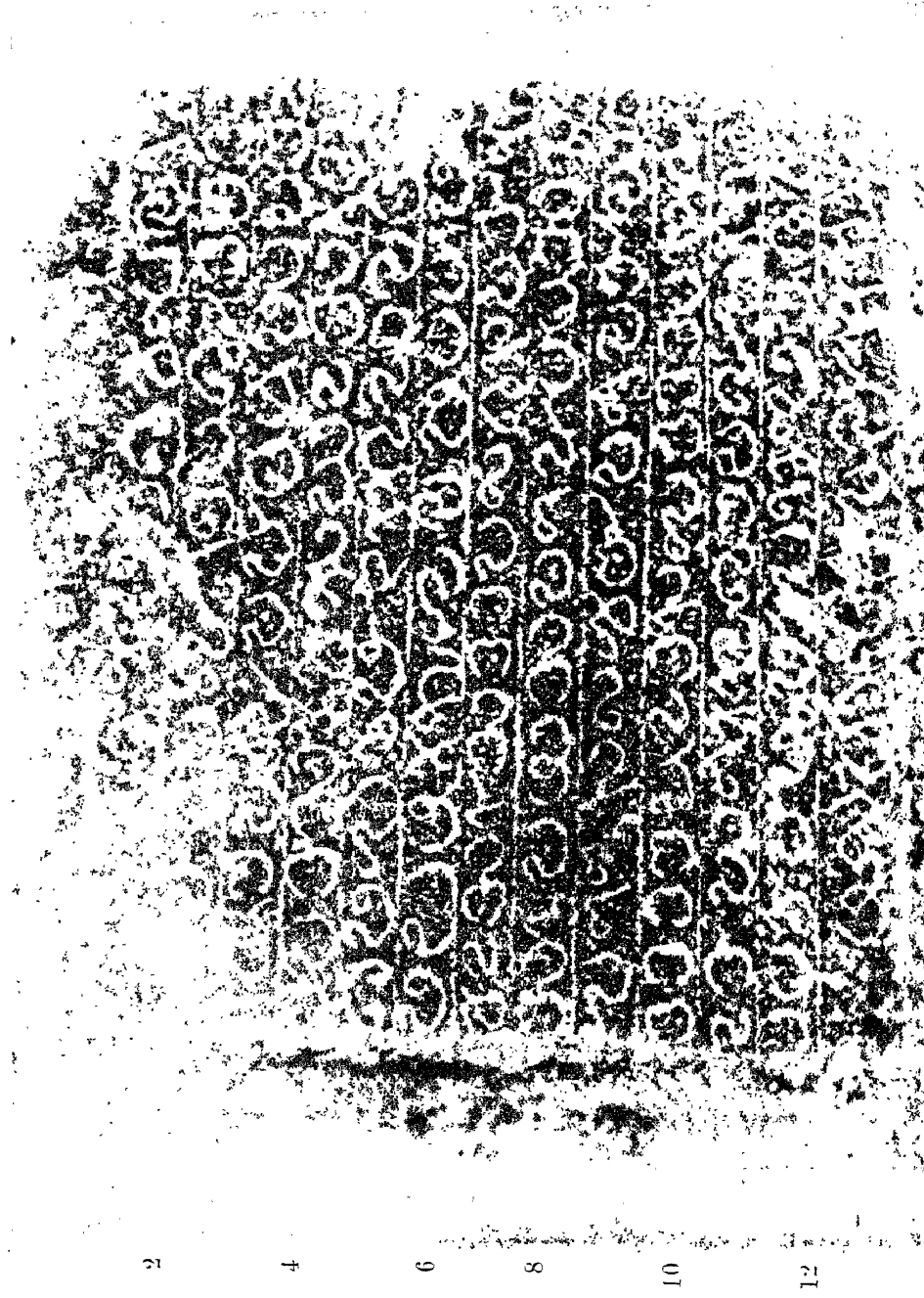
3 The meaning of the phrase '*muṇṇu-niyāyamum-piḷaiyādāna*' is not quite clear. It goes with the word 'sheep'. Perhaps the writer intended to indicate that the sheep were not the unlawful property of the donor.



No. 26 (face p. 74)







**No. 27.— Suchindram inscription of Marañjadaiyan: regnal year 5.**

This inscription is engraved on the rock inside the enclosure of the Kailāsa shrine in the Sthāpūnāthasvāmin temple at Suchindram. It is written in the Vatteluttu alphabet and the Tamil language and is dated in the fifth year of reign of the early Pāṇḍya king Mārāñjadaiyan. There is no clue in the inscription to establish the identity of this king with any member of the Pāṇḍya pedigree furnished in copper-plates. A gift of buffaloes made by *Senāvaraiyan alias* Tattan Andari of Tiruvellūr in Tiruvalūdi-vaṇaṇāḍu to the temple of Emberumān at Tiruchchivīndiram for maintaining a lamp, is registered in the record. The native place of the donor must be looked for in the Śrīvaikunṭham Taluk of the Tinnevely district.

**Text.**

1. ஸ்ரீ ஸ்ரீ [ஈ\*] கொ மாறஞ்சடையர்க்-
2. கு யாண்டு இரண்டு இதனெதி-
3. ர் மூன்று இவ்வாண்டு மிதுனநா[ய]-
4. த் துத் திருச்சிவிந்திரத்து
5. எம்பெருமானுக்கு நியத-
6. ம் உழக்கு நெய் முட்டாமல்
7. சத்திராதித்தவல் எரிவதாக[த்]
8. திருவழிதிவளநாட்டு திரு-
9. வெள்ளூரில் செனாவரையனாயின
10. தத்தன் ஆத்தரி வைத்த திரிநொ-
11. த்தாளிளக்கு ஒன்று [ஈ\*] இதுக்கு வி-
12. ட்ட சாவா மூவா[ப்\*] பெரெருமை ஆஞ்ச [ஈ\*] இ-
13. [வை]<sup>1</sup> முலபாடை சவையார்க்கு காட்<sup>2</sup>

**Translation.**

Hail ! Prosperity ! In the month of Mithuna of this year (i. e.) the third opposite to the second year of (*the reign of*) Mārāñjadaiyan, *Senāvaraiyan alias* Tattan Andari of Tiruvellūr in Tiruvalūdi-vaṇaṇāḍu gave one sacred lamp<sup>3</sup> to (*the temple of*) Emberumān at Tiruchchivīndiram (*that it*) may be burnt without (any) impediment as long as the moon and the sun endure, with one *uḷakku* of ghee per day. To this were assigned five buffaloes which neither die nor grow old. These were shown (and handed over) to the members of the assembly.

1 The syllable வை is completely worn away.

2 The syllables lost at the end may be டி குடித்தன.

3 See note 2 above page 74.

### Stone Inscription of Tirukkannankodu.

This inscription is reported to be engraved on the south side of the temple at the village of Tirukkannankōḍu in the Eraniel Taluk. It is written in the Vaṭṭeḷuttu alphabet which, on palaeographical grounds, may be assigned to the 10th century A. D. The characters of this inscription are similar to those of the Kaviyūr inscription of Kali 4052.<sup>1</sup> Lands granted to the temple at Tirukkannankōḍu for offerings, by a certain Kaṇḍaṇāḍāṅgi, a *kāviḍi* of Tiruvidāṅkōḍu, are registered in this document. The term *kāviḍi* applied to the donor shows that he was either an accountant<sup>2</sup> or a minister: most probably the latter. In the Tamil idyll *Madurai-kkāñchi*, *kāviḍi*, as a title, is distinctly applied to experienced and capable ministers;<sup>3</sup> and as title of an accountant it occurs in the Tanjore inscriptions of Rājarāja I. Of the places mentioned in the inscription, Pudevūr may be identified with the *kara* of Pudūr in the Tiruvidāṅkōḍ-pakuthy and Śiraikkarai may be the same as Cherakkara in the Viḷavankōḍ Taluk.

#### Text.

1. ஸ்ரீஸ்ரீ ஸ்ரீ [ஈ\*] இடபத்து<sup>5</sup> விபாழ[ன்\*] நின்ற யாண்டு
2. மரிச்சிக ஞாயிற்று திருமுதான்கொட்டு
3. [கா]விதியன் கண்டனாங்கி புதுஊர் நிலமும்<sup>6</sup> மண்ணையும் துடா
4. லும் சிறைக்கரைத் துடவலும் முனைவாளகண்ணும் இந்நாலு செ[ய்\*]யும்  
திருக்கண்ணங்<sup>7</sup>
5. தெவர்க்கு சுட்டின திருவக்கிரத்[துக்கு]

#### Translation.

Hail ! Prosperity ! In the month of Vṛiśchika of the year when Jupiter was in Rishabha, Kaṇḍaṇāḍāṅgi, a *kāviḍi* of Tirumudāṅkōḍu gave for the offerings of the god at Tirukkannāṅ[kōḍu] these four fields viz. *maṇṇarai* and *tuḍaval* belonging to the lands of Pudevūr, the *tuḍaval* of Śiraikkarai and *muṇaiyālakannu*.

1 See above, Vol. I. p. 288.

2 The Tamil Nighaṇḍu has “காவிதியரென்ப கணக்கர்தம் வழியினுள்ளாரே”.

3 See lines 493 to 499 which run as follows:

ஹஞ்சாந்து நீவிய கேழ்கின ரகலத்-  
தாவுதி மண்ணி யவீர்துகின் முடித்து  
மாவிகம்பு வழங்கும் பெரியோர் போல  
நன்றுந் தினுங் கண்டாய்ந் தடக்கி  
யன்பு மறனு மொழியாது காத்துப்  
பழியொரீஇ யுயர்ந்து பாய்புகழ் நிறைந்த  
செம்மை சான்ற காவிதிமாக்களும்.

4 *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. II. No. 67 para 492.

5 The syllables யத் are written over an erasure: and the first two letters are interchanged.

6 Read நிலமும்.

7 The syllables கொட்டு are lost at the end of this line.

No. 29.—On the east wall of the same temple.

This inscription is reported to be engraved on the east wall of Siva temple at Tirukkannankōdu. It is in the Vatteluttu alphabet and the Tamil language; and registers a gift of land for offerings, made by a certain Sōmayāji Nārāyaṇar of Kīlmaruḍur. It is interesting to note that the lands were originally obtained by the donor as a grant for service, either as minister or as commander of the forces of the king. This seems to be indicated by the term *ēṇāḍippēru* given to the portion enjoyed by the donor. Like *maruttuvappēru*, this word must denote a grant made by the king to an *ēṇāḍi*, and it is not unlikely that it is an equivalent of *amaranāyakan* which occurs in a Kīṣṇāpuram record. It may be noted that though *ēṇāḍi* is a general term applicable to 'a barber, a minister or a military commandant,' yet in the particular instance before us, it may be correct to suppose that it refers either to a minister or a general because the title *Sōmayāji*, which occurs as part of the name, clearly indicates that he was a Brahmin by birth and had performed *Sōmayāga*. Instances of Brahmins serving as ministers and military officers in ancient times are not un-common. From Tamil works, we gather that *ēṇāḍi* was a title conferred by a king on a general<sup>2</sup> and that the investiture of it was usually accompanied by decorating the person of the recipient of the honour, with a gold badge or diadem<sup>3</sup> (*paṭṭa*) and a gold ring both of which belonged to the order. Among the 63 Śaiva devotees, there was one named *Ēṇāḍi-Nāyaṇār*. At the present day, there is a class of people in the Telugu districts who go by the name *ēṇāḍis*. They live mostly in huts, possess no property and are employed as menials.

*Sōmayāji*, which occurs in our inscription, is a corruption of the word *Sōmayājīn*. On the word *ayam* see page 6 above.

On palaeographical grounds, our record may be assigned to a period not later than the 11th century A. D.

Text.

1. வீணி மீ [11\*] துலாத்தில் வியாழ[ன்\*]
2. நின்ற யாண்டு ஆனித் திங்கள் கிழமருதூர் மெலகத்து சொமாயி நாராய  
ணன் கிழக்கால்வா-
3. ய் யயலில் தன் சொமாயி நாராய[ணன்] தன்னுடைய ஏனாதிப்பெறைய  
திருக்கண்ணன்கொட்டு ஒரு திருவக்கிர-
4. ள் சொல்வதாக அட்டிக் குடுத்தான் சொமாயி நாராயணன் [11\*] திருக்க  
ண்ணன்கொட்டு தெவர்கன்மிகள் இத்திரு-
5. வக்கிர[11\*] முட்டாதெய் செலுத்த . . . . . மெலக்கால் வய  
லில் பெறைக்கு கிழக்கின் [குன்ற]<sup>4</sup>

1 வரவி மஞ்சள் மங்கிரியுத் தந்திரியு மென்ப—Nigandū.

2 The following stanza makes this clear:

போர்க்கடலிகற்றும் புரவித்தேர்ப் பல்படைக்குச்  
போர்க்கடல் பெற்ற வரையன்றோ- போர்க்கெல்லாக்  
தன்னுடைய நாவேந்தன் மோதிரஞ்சே  
ரேனாதிப் பட்டத் திவன்

3 சூழ்மணி மாழ் மெம்பெர் குட்டொடு கண்ணி காற்ற் ரேழர்கட் கருளி occurs in the *Nēnka-chintāmaḍi*.

4 The record is unfinished.

## Translation.

Hail ! Prosperity ! In the month of Āṇi of the year in which Jupiter stood in Tūlān, Sōmayāji Nārāyaṇaṇ of Kīlmarudūr-Mēlagam gave with libation of water his i. e. Sōmayāji Nārāyaṇaṇ's portion held as *ēṇāḍippēru* in the land called Kīlkkālvāy-vayal. for a sacred feeding at Tirukkannaṅkōḍu. In order that the managers of the temple (*dēvarkaṇṇi*) of Tirukkannaṅkōḍu might have this sacred feeding made without (*any*) default . . . . . this hill to the east of the *pēru* in the field called Mēlkkāl-vayal.

## No. 30.—On the same wall.

This inscription is reported to be engraved on the east side of the temple of Tirukkannaṅkōḍu. It is in the Vaṭṭeḷuttu alphabet and the Tamil language and registers a gift of five buffaloes for maintaining a lamp. The gift was made by Kāmaṇ Nārāyaṇaṇ, the *vāriyaṇ* of the village. The term *vāriyaṇ* occurs often in inscriptions and means 'supervision': e. g. Ēri-vāriya-Perumakkal, Tōṭṭa-vāriya-Perumakkal, Kaḷaṇi-vāriya-Perumakkal, Samvatsara-vāriya-Perumakkal, which have been taken to mean 'the great men in charge of garden supervision, field supervision and annual supervision'. Accordingly, the donor of our inscription must have been one of the members of the committee appointed to supervise the village.

## Text.

1. ஸ்ரீ ஸ்ரீ [॥\*] திருக்கண்ணங்கொட்டு தெவ[ர்\*]க்கு இவ்வூர்
2. ஊர் வாரியன் காமன் நாராயணன் வைச்ச விள[க்]-
3. கொன்று யெருமை அஞ்சு [॥\*] ஸ்ரீ ஸ்ரீ [॥\*]

## Translation.

Hail ! Prosperity ! To the god at Tirukkannaṅkōḍu, Kāmaṇ Nārāyaṇaṇ, the *vāriyaṇ* (supervisor) of this village, gave one lamp and five buffaloes. Hail ! Prosperity !

**No. 31.—On the east wall of the Siva temple at Tiruvidankodu.**

This inscription, which is said to be engraved on the east base of the central shrine of the Siva temple of Tiruvidāṅkōḍu, is in the Vaṭṭeḷuttu characters and the Tamil language. It registers a gift of the land called Śirukulāvarai for maintaining a vṛiśchika lamp in the temple of Īśāṇa-Mahādēva, for offerings to the deity and for the rice to be given to the man who had to watch the lamp. By *vṛiśchika-vilakku* is perhaps meant the light that had to be kept during the month of Vṛiśchika i. e. Kārttigai.

*Svasti śrī* and *Mahādēva* are the only words written in Grantha letters. *Kuri* in this inscription corresponds to *tuḍai* or *taḍavai* of other epigraphs.<sup>1</sup> It may be noted that there are several instances in this record of unnecessary doubling of consonants. The characters are old enough to be assigned to the 10th century A. D. All the *ya*'s are so shaped as to have an inward loop.

**Text.**

1. ஸ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ [u\*] சுவாமி நச்சானஹாஷேவர்க்கு வைச்ச விரிச்சிய<sup>2</sup> விளக்கு  
உன்று[<sup>3</sup>u\*] இதுக்கு குடுத்த பூமி சிறுகுளாவறைப்<sup>3</sup>
2. இதைவரி<sup>4</sup> முக் கணிப்பாடும் [u\*] இது செல்லுத்துவது<sup>5</sup> [u\*] மிகில் தா  
ன்னெ<sup>6</sup> கொள்வது [u\*] குறையில் இட்டு செல்லுத்துவது<sup>5</sup> [u\*] ஒரு  
குறி முட்டில் மு-
3. ட்டிராட்டியும் வைச்ச ஒருகாச தண்டமும் பட்டு இவ்விளக்கு செல்லுத்து  
வது<sup>5</sup> [u\*] இவ்விளக்கு வைக்கு[<sup>7</sup>m\*] நாள் நான்நாழி<sup>7</sup> அரிகி திரு  
வாமி-
4. துக்கும் விளக்கு கொக்குவான்[<sup>8</sup>nu]க்கும்<sup>8</sup> நான்நாழி<sup>7</sup> அரியும்[u\*]

**Translation.**

Hail! Prosperity! To the god Īśāṇa-Mahādēva was given one Vṛiśchika lamp. The land given for (*the maintenance of*) this was the taxable Śirukulāvarai with the sowing capacity of three *kuruvi* of seed. This expense shall be met (*as provided for*). If there is (*any*) excess, it can be taken by himself (*i. e. the donor*). If deficient, (*it should be*) supplemented and (*the expenses*) defrayed. If default is made once, double the quantity at default shall be paid together with a fine of one *kāṣu*: the (*usual*) expenses for the lamp shall (*also*) be met. On the day when this lamp is lighted, four *nāḷi* of rice required for the sacred offering and four *nāḷi* of rice for the person that had to watch the lamp (*shall be given*).

1 See above, p. 49.

2 Read விருச்சி.

3 Cancel *y* occurring at the end of this word.

4 Read முக்குறணி.

5 Read கொள்ளுத்துவது.

6 Read தானே.

7 Read காஞ்சி.

8 Cancel the letter *h*.

No. 32.—On the north wall of the same temple.

This inscription, which is said to be engraved on the north base of the central shrine in the Siva temple at Tiruvidāṅkōḍu, is in the Vaṭṭeḷuttu alphabet and the Tamil language. It registers a gift of five buffaloes, by Araṅgaṅ Tiruvāyppāḍi, a native of Vēmbaṅṭūr in Rājarāja-Tēṇṇāḍu for burning a lamp in the temple of Mahādēva at Tirumudāṅkōḍu *i. e.* Tiruvidāṅkōḍu. It may be noted that Vēmbaṅṭūr is a village in the Niṇḍakara Pakuthy of the Eraniel Taluk. After the conquest by the Chōḷa king Rājarāja I, the Pāṇḍya and Chēra countries together came to be called Rājarāja-Tēṇṇāḍu. The Pāṇḍya territory alone was called Rājarāja-Pāṇḍināḍu.

Text.

1. ஸௌந்தியீ [ஈ\*] இராசராசத் தென்னாட்டு வெம்ப-
2. ஸார் அரங்கந் திருவாய்ப்பாடி செ-
3. ந்[தி]னங்கைபைச் சார்த்தித் திருமுதான்-
4. கொட்டு மாதேவர்க்கு வைத்த ஸந்தாவி-
5. ளக்ச ஒன்று[சு\*]கு எருமை அஞ்ச[ஈ\*] இது செ-
6. ஸுத்துவானமைந்[த]ரர் ஸவையார்.

Translation.

Hail! Prosperity! Araṅgaṅ Tiruvāyppāḍi of Vēmbaṅṭūr, (*a village*) in Rājarāja-Tēṇṇāḍu, gave five buffaloes for one perpetual lamp (*to be burnt in the temple of*) Mahādēva at Tirumudāṅkōḍu for (*the merit of*) Sēndi Naṅgai. The members of the assembly agreed to burn this (lamp).

## No. 33.—Palaiyur Copper-Plate of Kollam 781.

The subjoined inscription is engraved on both sides of a single plate measuring  $8\frac{1}{2}$ " by  $1\frac{1}{10}$ ". The plate is without ring or rim. It evidently belongs to the Church at Palaiyūr. I edit it from one set of impressions taken and kept in my office.

The inscription is written in the Vaṭṭeḷuttu characters of the period to which it belongs. The following peculiarities deserve to be noted:—*R* is shaped sometimes like an *anusvara*: the short and long forms of *u* (l. 2) and *pu* (l. 16) are not distinguished and the formation of *ṇō* is peculiar: in line 16, the word *tāḷkki* occurs and I take it to be a change of the Sanskrit *sākshi* whose other variants are *sākki* and *tākki*. It is interesting to note that, as a rule, *ta* is often found, in Vaṭṭeḷuttu epigraphs, to take the place of *śa* or *sa* e. g. *tantadi* for *santati*, *tāḷkkirāmam* for *śāḷigrāmam*, etc.

The language of the inscription may be said to be Malayāḷam on account of the use of forms like பலிசு, கரணமாவத, ஆயிரத்த, தெசத்த, அதின, வித்தினு, பணத்தின, கழிப்புறம் etc. In this inscription marked preference is given to *a* endings instead of the Tamil *u* and the dative termination is *u* instead of the Tamil *ku*.

This document evidences the conveyance of a landed property situated in Ilaṅguḷam in Irīṇṇappuram-dēṣam, as a set off against interest due on money lent by the Vicar of the Palaiyūr Church to a resident of Kūttanācheri.<sup>1</sup> The Nambūdiri of Kōdanallūr<sup>2</sup> figures as a witness; and a certain Sāttappa-Mēṇōṇ of Māḍakkāva attests the deed.

Palūr mentioned in the inscription is one of the traditionary places where the first seven Christian Churches were built. It is in the Palaiyūr-amṣam of the Ponnani Taluk in British Malabar and contains a Syro-Roman Church.<sup>3</sup>

## Text.

## First Side.

1. கொல்லம். எர.அமெக-மத கும்ப ஞாயற்றில் எழுதிய [வெம்]<sup>4</sup> -
2. பாட்டம் நெற் பலிசு ஓலகரணமாவத [11\*] ப[ர]னூற்பள்ளிலை விகாரியு  
ம் புரொ-
3. த்திக்காரரும் கூட கை(ர)ய்யால் ஆயிரத்த அன்ம்பத்த அஞ்-
4. சு புது பணம் கொண்டான் கூத்தம்செரி இரெவிகாராணென்

1 This name may also be read 'Kuttanāveli or Kūttampēri'.

2 This word may also be read as Kodavallūr.

3 Logan's Malabar, Vol. I. p. 199.

4 இஃ பாட்டம் occurs in line 8f.



5. கொண்டான் [11\*] கொண்டன<sup>1</sup> பரிசாவத [11\*] இக்கொண்ட புது  
[க பணம்]<sup>2</sup> தூறு-  
6. நூலும் காரியம் தன்றெ இரிங்ஙப்பும் தெசத்த இளங்-  
7. குளத்த வடிக்கெழுறி<sup>3</sup> பறம்பும் அதின [அடு]த்த கண்டங்-  
8. னங் நால்ப்பதினாழி வித்தி[னு க]ண்டவும் கூட நில [பா-  
9. [ட்டமுள்]ப்பட ஆயிரத்த அன்ம்பத்த அஞ்சு பணத்தின

*Second Side.*

10. நெற்பவிச கிழிமொற<sup>4</sup> எழுதிக் கொடுத்தான் இரெவி நாபாரணென் [11\*]  
11. இம்மார்க்கமெ இச்சொன்ன இளங்குளத்தெ வடக்கெழுறிப் பற[11\*]-  
12. பும் அதிடுத்த<sup>5</sup> கண்டம் நானாழி வித்தின்னு கண்டவும் கூடி ஆ-  
13. யரத்த<sup>6</sup> தூறுரு<sup>7</sup> த்தின்ன நெற்பவிச கிழியுமாற எழு-  
14. திச்சு கொண்டாற் பாலுற் பள்ளியில் விகாரி [11\*] பருக்குளங்ஙொ  
15. இட்டி அச்செனரும்<sup>8</sup> புரொத்திக்காரரும் கூடி இப்படிக்க  
16. இதட்டெயும்<sup>9</sup> [11\*] தாழ்க்கி கொதநல்லூர்<sup>10</sup> நம்புதிரி [11\*] மா-  
17. டக்காவில் சாத்தப்பமெனென்<sup>11</sup> கையழுத்த [11\*]

**Translation.**

The (*following is*) the document evidencing (*the transfer of*) the rent of land, for rightful<sup>12</sup> interest on money, executed in the month of Kumbham of the Kollam year 781. From the Vikāri (i. e. Vicar) of the Church at Pālūr and Purōttikkārur, (*a certain*) Iravi Nārāṇaṇ of Kūttanichēri received one thousand and fifty-five new *panam*. Thus was it received. The consideration for this grant of 1055 new *panam* is:—

Iravi Nārāṇaṇ wrote and gave (*i. e. conveyed*), as a set off against interest due on the said (*one*) thousand and fifty-five *panam*, the rent of his land called

- 1 Delete எ.  
2 Here Malayālam 1 and *panam* sign are engraved.  
3 Read வடக்கெழுறி as in text-line 11: ட may also be ட.  
4 Read கிழியுமாற as in text-line 13.  
5 Read அதடுத்த or அதின அடுத்த as in line 7.  
6 Read ஆயிரத்த.  
7 There is a symbol before this word which must stand for *panam*.  
8 Read அச்செனரும்.  
9 This word has to be corrected into இத அறியும்.  
10 This word may also be read as கொதவல்லூர், as the inscription does not make much difference between ட and வ: but the text reading is preferable  
11 Read கையெழுத்த.  
12 I am informed by my friend Mr. T. K. Joseph, B. A., L. T., that *nēr-palaśa* is the term applied to 12 per cent interest and *Purōttikkār* means an accountant in a Church.

Vaḍakkēmuri-paraṃbu in Iḷaṅguḷam of (i. e. *belonging to*) Irinṇāpuram-dēśam, together with the fields adjoining it, of the sowing capacity of forty *nāḷi* of seed. In this wise, the Vikāri (i. e. Vicar) of the Church at Pālūr got it written and received (i. e. purchased), the rent of land as a set off against the interest due on the (*sum of*) 1055<sup>1</sup> *paṇam*, the said Vaḍakkēmuri-paraṃbu of Iḷaṅguḷam, together with the fields adjoining it, with the sowing capacity of four<sup>2</sup> *nāḷi* of seed. Itṭi-Achchanār of Parūkkulaṅgam and Purōttikkārar thus know this. The Nambūdiri of Kōḍanallūr (is) witness. (This is) the signature of Śāttappa-Mēṇḍṇ of Māḍakkāvu.

1 In words 'thousand' is engraved before 1055.

2 *Four* is evidently a mistake for '*forty*' or *vice versa*: see text-line 8.

**Kanyakumari Inscription  
of  
Vira-Rajendra.**

## No. 34.—KANYAKUMARI INSCRIPTION OF VIRARAJENDRA.

Cape Comorin, also called Kanyākumari, is the most southerly point of India. It is situated at a distance of  $3\frac{1}{2}$  miles from Agastyēśvaram, a village in the taluk of that name in the Padmanabhapuram Division of the Travancore State. It seems to have got its name Kanyākumari from the Virgin goddess i. e., Pārvati or Durgā to whom the important temple in the place is dedicated. The village is variously known as Kanni,<sup>1</sup> Kumari or Kanyākumari.

Hipparchos observes that the southern extremity of India is under the same degree of latitude as Merve. Ptolemy (A. D. 150) refers to Cape Comorin under the name *Komaria Akron* and the author of the *Periplus* (A. D. 85) speaks of pilgrims bathing at the place in honor of the goddess which is supposed to represent the Indian Diana or Hecate. Both describe Kolkhoi, which is the modern Kōrkai and the ancient capital of the Pāṇḍyas, as an emporium of pearl trade, situated on the sea coast to the east of Cape Comorin, and as giving its name to the Kolkhoi gulf or gulf of Mannar. "After Bakare", says the author of the *Periplus*, "occurs the mountain Pyrrhos (or the Red) towards the south, near another district of the country called Paralia (where the pearl fisheries are, which belong to the Pandion) and a city of the name of Kolkhoi. Next to this is another place called Komar, where is the cape of the same name and a haven. Those who wish to consecrate the closing part of their lives to religion come hither and bathe and engage themselves to celibacy. This is also done by women; since it is related that the goddess once on a time resided at the place and bathed"<sup>2</sup>

Kanyākumari is considered a very sacred place by the Hindus and its antiquity can be traced to a remote past. Bathing in the sea at this point, and worshipping the goddess, duly observing vows, were believed to remove all sins, secure merit, ensure the uplifting of souls to blissful regions. In the *Vana-Parva* of the *Mahābhārata* (v. 23) it is said that "one should bathe in the *tīrtha* called Kanyā on the sea coast. Bathing there, one is cleansed of all sins" and further on (in vv., 136-8) it is added that "going to Kanyā with regulated diet and subdued mind, one reaches the region of Manu, the lord of creation. Whatever gift is made at Kanyā, the Rishis of rigid vows say, becomes everlasting". Imprecations occurring at the end of inscriptions give us to understand that the most heinous of sins are those committed on the banks of the Ganges and (Kanyā) kumari. These imprecations are not uniform in all records and the variation in the wording has led to differences in their interpretation. The following are two of the forms of the imprecation which introduces this place:—

- i. இது அழித்தார் கங்கையிடைக் குமரியிடை செய்தார் செய்த பாவத்துப் படுவார்
- ii. கங்கையிடை குமரியிடை எழுதாற்றுக்காதஞ் செய்தார் செய்த பாவங்கொள்வார்.

<sup>1</sup> 'கன்னியே குமரியென்ப' and 'மின்னிடைக்குமரி கன்னி'. See J. Mc. Crindle's *Ancient India*

Vol. VI. p. 95.

<sup>2</sup> Caldwell's *History of Tinnevely*, p. 19 and *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VIII.

They are taken to mean:—

i. “Those who destroy this (charity) shall incur the sins committed on the banks of the Ganges and Kumari:” and

ii. “Shall incur the sins committed by all persons living in the tract of country extending over 700 *kādam* between the Ganges and Kumari” or

“Shall incur the sin of committing 700 murders (*kādam* for *ghāta*) on the banks of the Ganges and Kumari.”

It is not our object to discuss here the correctness or otherwise of the interpretations but only to show how sacred the composers of ancient inscriptions regarded the place Kanyākumari.

That a large concourse of people frequented this place for a bath in the sea is gathered from the Tamil poem *Maṇimēgalai*.<sup>1</sup> In this work, it is stated that Śālī, the wife of a Brāhmaṇa named Apaṇchikaṇ versed in the Vēdas and a resident of Vāraṇāśī (i. e. Benares) wronged her husband by straying out of the path of virtue and lost her chastity, and, that fearing the punishment that awaited her, she went, walking all the way to Kumari in the southern region with a fatigued body, bathed there, worshipped the feet of the Virgin Goddess and got rid of her sin.<sup>2</sup> These references bear out the statement of the *Mahābhārata*.

Early Tamil literature abounds in allusions to the place which point to its having been included in the dominion of the Pāṇḍya kings, the limit of whose southern boundary it was. Describing the fame of the ancient Pāṇḍya king Kuḍumi (i. e. Palyāgaśālai Mudukuḍumi Peruvaḷudi), the poet Kārikilār says that it extended in the north far beyond the northern high and snow-clad mountain (i. e. the Himalayas); in the south the (river) Kumari swelling with

1 “குாங்கு செய் கடற் குமரியம் பெருந்துறைப்  
பாந்துசென் மாக்கட ளாடு தேடினன் பெயர்வோன்.” Canto. V.

2 “வாரணசியோர் மறையாள  
ஞாண வவாத்தி யபஞ்சிக னென்போன்  
பார்ப்பணி சாலி காப்புடை கழிந்து  
கொண்டோற் பிழைத்த தண்டமஞ்சித்  
தென்றிசைக் குமரி யாடிய வருவோன்.” Canto XIII, ll. 3-7.

“நடவை வருத்தமொடு நல்குர் மேனிபன்  
வடமொழியாட்டி மறை முறை யெய்திக்  
குமரிபாதங் கொள்கையின் வணங்கித்  
தமரிற் தீர்ந்த சாலியென்போடனை.” *ibid.* ll. 72-5.

“பார்ப்பார்க்கொவ்வாப் பண்பினின் ஒழுகி.” *ibid.* l. 80.

flood; in the east the sea dug out by the Sagaras with its waves beating against the shore; and in the west the ancient western ocean.<sup>1</sup> Another poet Kuruṅgōḷiyūrkiḷār of the *Śaṅgam* period, praising the achievements of the Chēra sovereign Yāpaikkaṭ-chēymāndarañchēral-Irumborai, records that he protected the family of the Pāṇḍya king Talaiyālaṅgāṇattu-cheru-venṇa-Neḍuñjeliyaṅ who ruled the territory lying between the southern Kumari and the northern great mountain and bounded by the seas on the east and west.<sup>2</sup> These two references make it plain that Cape Comorin was situated in, and marked the southern boundry of, the Pāṇḍya territory. The titles குமரிச் சேர் ப்பன் and கன்னிகாவலன், applied to the kings of the Pāṇḍya dynasty, also tell the same fact.<sup>3</sup> The ancient bard Neṭṭimaiyār, eulogising the feat of the Pāṇḍya king Kuḍumi (i. e. Palyāgaśālai-Mudukuḍumi-Peruvaludi), already referred to, prays that his patron may be spared for as many years as are counted by the sands in the excellent river Pahruli which was opened by Vaḍimbalambaninṇa-Pāṇḍya, one of the ancestors of that king, who conducted a festival in honour of the ocean god.<sup>4</sup> From this, we gather that the river Pahruli flowed past Comorin and it might be that it is identical with the modern Palaiyāru which, irrigating the lands near Kōttāru empties itself in the Indian Ocean near the cape. In this connection, it is worthy of note that in Smith's *Ancient Atlas*, commenting on the geography of classical authors, Col. Yule mentions "Paralia" which, according to the *Periplus*, was the name of a region extending from a point a few miles south of Quilon to Cape Comorin and writes "this is no doubt *Purali*, an old name of Travancore, from which the Rāja of Travancore has the title *Pwalīśan* 'lord of Purali'.<sup>5</sup>

1 வடாபுது பணிபடு நெடுவரை வடக்குந்  
தென அநிருசெழு குமரியின் தெற்குந்  
குண அது நரைபொரு தொடுகடற் குணக்குந்  
குடா அது தொன்று முதிர் பெனவத்தின் குடக்கும்".—Verse 6 of *Puram*.

2 Verse 17 of *Purananūru* has

தென்குமரி வடபெருங்கல்  
குண குட கடலா வெல்கை  
\* \* \* \* \*

சுடர் நேமி முழுதாண்டோர் வழிநாவல.

3 See the Tamil Nigandam under the 'Pāṇḍya'.

4 முநீர் கிழகி னெடியோ  
னன்னீர்ப் பரிமுளி மணவினும் பலவே.

5 Sewell's *Lists of Antiquities*, Vol. I. p. 256. There is a river called Paraliyāru which commences somewhere near Pommana (Kalkulam Taluk), joins at Mūnāṇṇumugam near Tiruvattāru with Kōdaiyāru and passing through Kuḷitturai empties itself in the sea at Teṇṇāppaṭṭanam.

The Muhamadan historian Abulfeida (A. D. 1203-4) refers to Cape Comorin under the name Ras Kumhāri and states that it was the limit between Malabar (the country of the Pāṇḍyas) and Malabar. The Venetian traveller Marco Polo visited the place at the end of the 13th century A. D. He describes it in the following terms:—<sup>1</sup>

“Cumari is a country belonging to India, and there you can see something of the North Star which we had not been able to see from the Lesser Java thus far. In order to see it, you must go some 30 miles out to sea and then you see it about a cubit above the water.” “This is a wild country, and there are beasts of all kinds there, especially monkeys of such peculiar fashion that you would take them for men. There are also Gat-Pauls in wonderful diversity, with bears, lions and leopards, in abundance.”

Tamil was the language spoken in early times at this place. This is learnt from the references given below which mark out the boundaries of the Tamil land:—

“நெடியோன் குன்றமுந் தொடியோள் பௌவமுந்  
தமிழ் வரம்புறுத்த தண்புன னுடு”—*Silappadigūram*.

“வடவேங்கடர் தென் குமரி யாயிடை  
தமிழ் கூறு நல்லுலகம்”—*Tolgappiyam*.

A word about the position of the temple and the inscription in it will not be out of place here.

A spacious rectangular ground at the very shore of the sea is walled off on all sides and the enclosed court contains a pile of buildings, at the centre of which is the *sanctum* of the goddess Kanyābhagavatī, facing the east. The innermost shrine which contains the deity does not preserve the old structure. It was probably renovated years ago.<sup>2</sup> There are no inscriptions on the walls to furnish a clue as to when it was repaired or renewed. Neither is there any sculpture worth mentioning. Leaving a little space all round the walls of the adytum, a covered inner circuit runs; and the floor of the part is on a higher level than that of the intervening space. On the south-west corner of this circuit, there is a shrine of Gaṇeśa, facing the east. The entrance to it, which must have been put up in recent times, covers portions of early inscriptions. The outer walls of the surrounding verandah on the north and south sides are prolonged towards the east *i. e.* in front, but are screened by cross walls put up on either side of the entrance into the central shrine provided with openings which lead one from the inner circuit to the surrounding parts of what is known as *maṇi-maṇḍapa*. This last is erected in front of the *garbhagriha* and is supported by six inscribed cylindrical pillars, four of which are placed at the four corners of the *maṇi-maṇḍapa* and the two remaining ones are fixed at either side of the entrance into the adytum. Brick walls

1 Col. Yule's Marco Polo, Vol. II. p. 318.

2 It is said to have been built by Krishnarāja of Narasinga—*Ind. Ant.* Vol. IV. p. 317.

erected on the north and south sides, parallel to the prolonged portions of the outer *prākāra* walls, convert the space between, into small chambers. The portion, so walled off on the south, contains two small rooms one within the other, and this seems to have once served the purpose of a *karivēlam* i. e. a store-room. The portion on the north, furnishes two rooms one of which serves for keeping the worshipping vessels and the other enshrines the *utsava* image. The modern brick wall on the north side is put up in such a way as to cover two or three inscribed pillars which may contain the end of the Chōla *praśasti* engraved on the six cylindrical pillars already referred to. The inner and outer faces of the north, west and south *prākāra* walls contain ancient inscriptions; but are so completely covered by a thick layer of chunam that we can form no idea as regards the number and importance of the inscriptions which they envelope.

The *sabhā-maṇḍapa* or assembly hall is in front of the *maṇi-maṇḍapa*. It is more long than broad. On either side there are rows of pillars somewhat sculptured. The structure is not very ancient but is of importance for the belt of sculptural scenes representing some Puranic story, carved on the four sides almost at the top, immediately above the columnar heads. The ceiling of the *maṇḍapa* bears some modern painting. On the south-western corner there is a small compartment now used for keeping oil and lamps, while on the north eastern side, a flight of steps leads down to the bottom of a well from which water is taken for temple purposes. Leaving a little space behind the rows of pillars on the north and south wings, the inner *prākāra* walls extend. The easternmost portion of this hall is screened by a cross wall with an entrance leading into the second *prākāra* very near the *dhvajastambha*. There is also an entrance on the north side opening into the same *prākāra*.

The first *prākāra* walls enclose within them

- i. the *garbhagṛiha*,
- ii. the *pradakṣiṇa* round it with the shrine of Gaṇēśa,
- iii. the *maṇi-maṇḍapa* with its inscribed pillars and the compartments on either wing i. e. the *karivēlam*., the shrine of the *utsava* and the room where worshipping vessels are kept,
- iv. the *sabhā-maṇḍapa* with a small chamber on the south-west corner and the flight of steps leading to the well on the north-west corner.

The second or *Śrī-bali-prākāra* is broader than the first and better lighted. It gets its name from the circumstance that *bali* stones are kept all round and the image of the deity is taken in procession daily through it, accompanied by a drummer, one bearing light, a dancer and a *Śānti-pōtti*, in order to offer flower and rice to the *bali* stones. On the southern side of the *prākāra* there are spacious rooms for cooking the offerings to the deity and preparing meals for feeding Brahmans in the *namaskāra-maṇḍapa* which in this temple is a portion of the *prākāra* adjoining the kitchen. On the north side is the shrine of Tyāgasundarī and on the east is the *dhvajastambha*.



Almost in the middle of the north *prākāra*, there is an entrance with a small raised platform on either side having three inscribed pillars. Going out through this entrance, we arrive at a passage, on one side of which is the *ūñjāl-maṇḍapa* and on the other a compartment for keeping the vehicles of the goddess and for stringing garlands of flowers.

As has been already noted, the subjoined inscription is engraved on six cylindrical pillars set up in the *Maṇi-maṇḍapa* of the Kanyā-Bhagavati temple at Cape Comorin. The existence of it was known to scholars for a long time, though it was neither read nor its importance ascertained. Mr. R. Sewell notices it in his *Lists of Antiquities* under the village Agastyēśvaram thus:—

There are a number of inscriptions here, all said to be in Tamil. They are to be seen on the pillars round the shrine at Kanyakumari.<sup>1</sup>

The Madras Epigraphical Department visited the place in 1896 and secured copies of as many as 13 inscriptions.<sup>2</sup> In this collection, our record does not find place. Being covered with a thick layer of oil mixed with fine dust, it defied at first all attempts made to decipher it *in situ*: and the preparation of inked estampages was also fruitless. Finally and mainly by the exertion of Pandit Srinivasa Sastri, *Smṛitiviśārada*, an eye-copy of the record was made and a fairly good impression of it secured: and with the help of these, the late Mr. T. A. Gopinatha Rao contributed an article to the *Epigraphia Indica* which contained a preliminary notice of the inscription.

Though the impression prepared previously was a tolerably good one, it was not fit for reproduction. Owing to the oil that had adhered to the pillars, there were spots here and there that had not come out well in the estampage. In such places, the correctness of the reading could only be verified by referring to the stone original. With a view to obtain a better impression and to clear many a doubtful point in the reading, I went to the cape and made a fresh endeavour. All the doubtful readings were verified on the spot and necessary corrections made.

The epigraph opens with three invocatory verses addressed to Śiva (Bhavānīpati and Śambhu) and Viṣṇu (Hari), for the prosperity of the Chōla family and for the removal of their sins. Out of sport, Śiva became the author of creation, preservation, and destruction (v. 1), and carried in himself Māyā (primordial matter or Śakti) which produces the pairs of opposites, knowledge and ignorance and pleasure and pain (v. 2). Verses 4, 5, and 6 detail the order of creation. Reference is here made to the supreme will of the lord of the universe

1 *Lists of Antiquities*, Vol. I, p. 256.

2 These are. Nos 92 to 109 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1896. (*Vide* G. O. Nos 814, 815, Public, 6th August 1896).

resulting in the evolution of the world. He first created water and sowed in it his own seed. Thence came Brahmāṇḍa which enveloped (i. e. contained) the three worlds and Brahmā<sup>1</sup> (v. 4).

Verse 5 states that from Brahmā emanated the worlds and divers objects as well as the Munīndras among whom was Marīchi. From Marīchi came Kaśyapa. His sons were the Dēvas and Asuras who were constantly fighting with each other (v. 6) and Vivasvān (i. e. Sūrya) whose brilliance woke up Brahmā from sleep and dispelled the darkness of the universe<sup>2</sup> (v. 8). Sūrya's son was Manu, the first of the kingly race and the expounder of the *dharma*<sup>3</sup> (v. 9). His son was Ikshvāku<sup>4</sup> (v. 10) and the latter's son was Vikukshisrava (v. 11). Of him the purāṇas say that he killed some hares at his father's bidding, and after eating a portion of the flesh, brought the residue for being offered in the ancestral obsequies which Ikshvāku was celebrating. By this fact he was called Śaśāda, the hare-eater. Purañjaya was his son. It is reported of him that, on a violent war breaking out between the Dēvas and Asuras, he made Indra a bull, stood on his hump and vanquished the Asura foe and acquired the name Kakutstha (v. 12). The name of Kakutstha's son Anēnas is omitted in the inscription; but the latter's son Prithu, who was one of the powerful sovereigns of the solar line, is mentioned (v. 13). The *Vishnu-Purāṇa* says that the earth derived its name Pṛithvī from him.<sup>5</sup> He is reported to have newly started cultivation, pasture, agriculture and merchandise. Between Prithu and Kuvalāśva, there were Viśvagaśva, Ārdra, Yuvanāśva, Śravaśta and Brihadaśva. Of these kings, whose names are omitted in the mythical

- 1 From here commences the mythical genealogy of the Solar kings. The information contained in it agrees, as will be pointed out below, with the account furnished in the early literature of the country which should have embodied more ancient traditions current at the time when they were first utilised by the authors. It is not likely to violate the probability of facts concerning the past history of the country, if only apparent improbabilities are eschewed. They could not be pure inventions, but must contain a certain amount of historical matter. As such, we notice the mythical account furnished in the Kanyakumari inscription, though it is not very pertinent for Chola history, the narration of which was the object of the writer of the *prākāśa*).

- 2 These four members are thus introduced in the *Kalīṅgattupparanī* :—

தமிழ்மால் காமலநாயகமலத்தயனுதித்-  
தயன் மரீசியெனுமண்ணலை யளித்தபரிசுங்-  
செய்தல் கூர்ந்தரு மரீசியெனுகி வளருங்  
சாசிபன் சிறருஞ்சுனை யளித்தபரிசும்

The position of Marichi and Kaśyapa are interchanged in the *Vikīramasōlanulā* (v. 3).

- 3 In introducing Manu, both *Kalīṅgattupparanī* and *Vikīramasōlanulā* refer to his act of running a car over his own son, in order to do justice to a cow, whose calf had been accidentally killed by the wheels of his son's car:—

அவ்வருச்சன் மகனாகி மனுமேதினீபுரந்-  
தரிய சாதலனை யாவின துகன்றுநிகரென்-  
தெவ்வருச்சமும் வியப்பமுறைசெய்தகதையும்-  
இச்சுவாகுவின் மைந்தனைனவந்த பரிசும்- *Kalīṅga*.<sup>o</sup>  
செந்தனை யாகிற்சுமுற்றத்திருத்தேரின்-  
மைந்தனைபூர்த்த மனுவோனும்- *Vikīra*.<sup>o</sup>

- 4 This relationship is given in the *Kalīṅgattupparanī*: see note 3.

- 5 Wilson's *Vishnu-Purāṇa*, p. 104.

genealogy, Purāṇas have not got much to say except the fact that Śrāvasta founded the city of Śrāvastī.<sup>1</sup>

Verse 14 speaks of Kuvalāśva's defeat of the powerful demon Dundhu who, concealing himself in the sands of the river Sindhu afflicted the Dēvas. This verse thus hints at the surname Dundhumāra assumed by king Kuvalāśva. It is to be noted that the name Kuvalāśva, which occurs as such in the *Vāyu-Purāṇa*, appears in the slightly altered form Kuvalayāśva in the *Vishṇu* and other Purāṇas as well as in the *Mahābhārata*.<sup>2</sup> The next person mentioned in our record is Māndhātā.<sup>3</sup> Here we notice the omission of the names of seven kings *viz.* Dṛiḍhāśva, Haryaśva, Nikumbha, Samhataśva, Kriśāśva, Prasēnajit and Yuvanāśva, the father of Māndhātā, all of whom came to throne in regular succession after Kuvalayāśva.

In introducing Muchukunda, our record states that he came in the family of Māndhātā but does not say that he was his son. The Purāṇas, however, declare that Purukutsa, Ambarīsha and Muchukunda were the three sons of Māndhātā, born to his queen Bindumatī.<sup>4</sup> Hariśchandra, who is next mentioned, was the descendant of Purukutsa, the line continuing in the persons of Trasadasyu, Sambhūta, Anarāya, Prishadaśva, Haryaśva, Sumanas also called Vasumanas, Tridhanvan Trayyārūṇa and Satyavrata *alias* Triśaṅku, whose son Hariśchandra was.<sup>5</sup>

- 1 This place has been identified with Fa Hian's *She-wei* and Hsien Tsiang's *She-lo-va-sa-ti* located by both the pilgrims in the neighbourhood of Fyzebad in Oudh.
- 2 We learn from the *Mahābhārata* that Dundhu was the son of Madhu and Kaiṭabha, that he obtained great boons by performing severe penance, that he oppressed the Dēvas in order to avenge the death of his parents, harassed Ūtanka-maharishi; and that king Kuvalayāśva, obtaining the energy of Nārāyaṇa, along with his twenty one thousand sons excavated the sands of the Sindhu river where the demon lay concealed. By the fire of Dundhu's breath all the sons of Kuvalayāśva, with the only exception of three, perished; but after a severe contest, the king killed the demon and thus earned the name Dundhumāra (*Vana-Parva*, ch. CCIII).
- 3 In the *Mahābhārata* and elsewhere it is said that Yuvanāśva being left without any issue, took to penance; that while residing in the forest, he inadvertently drank the water, endowed with prolific efficacy, reserved for his queen Śaudāmini by a certain Rishi; and that he conceived and brought forth a son from his right side. There was none to nurse the child. Indra offered to do it and said *mām dhāsyati*; and hence the name Māndhātā was given to the child. Māndhātā is reported to have been a very pious and virtuous monarch, to have brought the seven continents under his sway, to have performed one thousand sacrifices and offered 10000 *padmas* and rich *dalakshinas* to Brāhmanas and to have removed a twelve years famine that raged in the country. (*Mbh*, *Vana*, Chap. CXXVI.)
- 4 Wilson's *Vishṇu-Purāṇa* p. 363. *Kalīṅga*° and *Vikṭir*° state that his rule was so benign that tiger and deer drank water together from the same *ghat*. In the former work he is referred to as 'ஒருதுறைப்பனல் சீனப்புலியுமானு முடனே யுண்ணவைத்தவரவோ னுலகில் வைத்தவருளும்' and in the latter work 'அடுபுலியும் புல்வாயுங்கூட நீருட்டிய கொற்றவனும்'.
- 5 The genealogy given in the *Matsya-Purāṇa* is Purukutsa, his son Dussaha, his son Sambhūti, and his son Tridhanvan. *Līṅga-Purāṇa* makes Sambhūti a brother of Trasadasyu; Agni substitutes Sudhanvan for him; and Bhāgavata omits him entirely. As in the *Matsya*, the Agni and *Brahma-Purāṇas* omit the names of Anarāya, Prishadaśva, Haryaśva and Sumanas. *Vāyu* has Brihadaśva in place of Sumanas; and according to the *Bhāgavata* version, Anarāya's son was Haryaśva, his son Arūṇa, his son Tribandhana and his son Triśaṅku.

Many of these are notable characters in the Hindu mythology. Māndhātṛi figures as the author of a hymn in the Rīg-Vēda and he is even called an Angīras by Āśvalāyana. Harita, the son of Yuvanāśva and the grand-son of Ambarīsha, became the ancestor of the Angīrasa-Haritas. Linga and Vāyu Purāṇas state that Harita was the son of Yuvanāśva and his sons were the Hārītas; they were followers of Āngīras and were Brāhmaṇas with the properties of Kshatriyas.<sup>1</sup> We may note that it was quite common in those days for persons of Kshatriya origin to become disciples of Brāhmaṇas, particularly of the Āngīras and Brīgu sects and afterwards to found schools of religious instruction themselves.<sup>2</sup> Hārīta is the name of an individual sage considered as the son of Chyavana. To him, a work on law is ascribed. Traiyārūpa is another member of the solar race who is noted for his contribution to the Rīg-Vēda. Every body knows how staunch a friend Trīśaṅku was of Viśvāmitra, by whom he was elevated to heaven, against the curse of Vasīṣṭha and the condemnation of his own father. He is spoken of as *satyaṛādī* and *jīteṇḍriya* and is cited in the Taittirīya-Upanishad as a Vēdic authority.

Verse 19 alludes to the story of Hariśchandra, who discharged his debt to the insatiable Viśvāmitra by selling himself, his wife and son. Our inscription passes over the names Rōhitāśva, his son Harita, his son Chunchu, his sons Vijaya and Sudēva; Vijaya's son Ruruk, his son Vrika and his son Bāhuka, who was deprived of his kingdom by the Haihayas and Tālajaṅghas, and forced to live in forest, where, after his demise, his son Sagara was born and carefully tended by the sage Aurva. This king Sagara is introduced in verse 20 which hints at the several sacrifices performed by him and of the successful attempts made by his sons in digging the ocean.<sup>3</sup>

The names of Amśumat and his son Dilīpa are omitted in our record but reference is made (in verse 21) to the hard lot that befell the sons of Sagara and to the attempt made by the next great king of the solar line i. e. Bhagīratha to bring down the heavenly river Gaṅgā in order to conduct the obsequies of Sagara's sons.<sup>4</sup> As in the Vishṇu-Purāṇa, our inscription hints that the river was called Bhāgīrathī after king Bhagīratha. Passing over the names of Śruta, Nābhāga, Ambarīsha, Sindhudvīpa and Ayutāśva, whose reigns were uneventful, the inscription mentions (v. 22) Rītuparṇa, the son of Ayutāśva, who is said to have been a friend of Naḷa, the son of Vīrasēna, skilled profoundly in dice.<sup>5</sup> Omitting

1 Vishṇu-Purāṇa Ch. III of Bk. IV.

2 As. Rev. VIII. 385.

3 The story of Sagara is thus told in the Mahābhārata: He defeated the Haihayas and Tālajaṅghas who did his father wrong. He took to wife two princesses, one a Vaidarbhī and another a Śaibya and had 60001 sons. On the occasion of performing a horse sacrifice, the animal having been stealthily removed to the abode of Kapila, Sagara sent his sons to search for it. Excavating the earth, they found it out; but in the attempt to rescue it without the permission of the Rishi and having insulted him, they were burnt to ashes. Amśumān, the son of Asamañjasa and grandson of the king, being then sent on the same mission, had it prudently executed.

4 Mbh. Chaps. CVI and CVII of Vanaparva: also see chaps. CVIII and CIX.

5 Vishṇu Purāṇa, Bk. 4, Ch. 4.

the names of Sarvakāma, his son Sudāsa, his son Saudāsa, named also Mitrasaha, the husband of Madayanti, his son Aśmaka, born for Vasishṭha, his son Mūlaka, his son Daśaratha, his son Ilvala, and his son Viśvasaha, about whom nothing of importance is said in the Purāṇas, verse 23 introduces king Dilīpa, the second of that name, who, in a war between the Dēvas and Asuras, helped the former and vanquished the latter. The four descendants of Dilīpa viz. Dīrghabāhu, Raghu, Aja and Daśaratha are passed over; but Rāma and his brothers Lakshmaṇa, Bharata and Śatrughna, who together formed the incarnation of Viṣṇu, as well as Śibi are mentioned as having been born in the solar race to relieve the world from the afflictions caused by the wicked demons (v. 24). In verses 25 to 27, the characteristic feature of this *avatār* i. e. the establishment of *dharma*, is finely portrayed, reference being made at the same time to the killing of Rāvaṇa and the construction of a dam across the ocean. Says the writer of the *praśasti* "He (i. e. Rāma) did not kill the lord of the demons out of anger; neither did he take back Sītā out of passion. But he did them for the sake of *dharma* only. If not, why did he destroy the unoffending Śūdra that was performing penance on the Malaya mountain and abandon again Sītā of established constancy."

So far, the composer of the *praśasti* has pursued the history of the solar race mentioning the principal kings of the line starting from the very time of creation up to the advent of Rāma and narrating the chief incidents connected with their reigns. We see from this account, which mainly follows the Harivaṃśa and the Purāṇas, that Purukutsa was the first sovereign of the solar dynasty to advance as far as the Narmadā; that during the days of Sagara, the country stretching on the eastern side as far as the Bay of Bangal was explored; and that during the reign of Bhagīratha, the source of the river Ganges was traced. The pedigree of the solar line, with the names of the kings mentioned in this record printed in fat type is given below (App. I).

From verse 28 the chronicler commences to handle the quasi-historical portion of the Chōḷa annals. Of the eponymous Chōḷa, he gives more detailed information than are to be met with in the hitherto available authorities for Chōḷa history. In what looks like an episode adapted from the Rāmāyaṇa, the account runs that king Chōḷa, who loved games (v. 28) and made the forests, — abounding in sages and affording enough sports and seclusion, — his pleasure garden (v. 29), roamed in the woods desirous of hunting deer; and being allured by a demon who appeared before him in the form of an antelope, he wended his way southwards to a jungle, (v. 30) followed by the commanders of his army mounted on fleet steeds (v. 31). There, he killed the demon-antelope, bathed in the nectar-like water of the *Kāvērī* (v. 32), looked for Brāhmaṇas to bestow gifts and finding none, made a fresh settlement of them, brought from the Āryāvarta (v. 33). And clearing the ground of forest, planted, on the banks of the river, extensive groves of areca-palms and betel-vines (v. 34). Verse 35 states that ablutions and penance made on the banks of the *Kāvērī* secure for the virtuous a more exalted place in the abode of the gods than that to which they could reach by the performance of the same on the banks of the Ganges.

It cannot now be said how and when the Chōḷa kingdom was founded; neither is it possible to state whether the country and its tribe came to be called after the king or the reverse was the order. Purāṇic accounts invariably point to

the conclusion that countries were named after kings e. g. Vaṅga, Aṅga, Kāliṅga, Suhma and Puṇḍra etc., were the earliest kings of the respective kingdoms. In consonance with the above, our record introduces king Chōḷa and speaks of him as clearing the forest and settling a number of Brāhmaṇa families brought from the Āryāvarta, in the jungle tracts, watered by the sacred river Kāvērī, thus laying the foundation of a new kingdom which must have been thenceforward known by the name Chōḷa. The anecdote about the Rajanichara-antelope might indicate that the original inhabitants of this region were Rākshasas and that a few Rishis had penetrated the southern fastnesses and established their hermitages there even prior to the advent of king Chōḷa. Similarly we find in the genealogy furnished in Pallava copper-plates that the originator of that family was a certain Pallava. Kātyāyana's view that one sprung from an individual of the Chōḷa tribe as well as the king of their country should be called Chōḷa, would, on the other hand lead to the inference that the term Chōḷa was first applied to the tribe and then to the country and its king. This conception, if pushed further, would indicate the indigenous growth of kingdoms and not colonisation from without. Whatever might be the origin, there is no doubt regarding the antiquity of the Chōḷa kingdom.

The earliest epigraphical reference to the Chōḷa country is contained in the second and thirteenth rock edicts of the Buddhist emperor Aśoka who flourished in the third century B. C. The former records that the Maurya sovereign provided medicines for men and animals not only in his own kingdom but also in the frontier dominions of which the Chōḷa was one. In the latter edict, which registers his conquest of Kalinga and promulgates an order regarding security to all creatures, respect for life, peace and kindness in behaviour, we are given to understand that the people of the Chōḷa country respected Buddhist morals. Notice of the Chōḷa country is also made in the *Periplus Maris Erythrae* and Ptolemy. According to the Purāṇas, the Chōḷa territory was one among the several situated in the Dakṣiṇāpatha.

Verse 36 notes that Rājakēsari was the son of king Chōḷa. Then follows a damaged portion from which nothing more could be made out than that Parakēsari-varman was the son of this king. It is a point worthy of note that our inscription omits to register the important fact recorded in the Leyden grant and the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates, that Chōḷa kings assumed the titles Rājakēsari and Parakēsari alternately at the time of their coronation. Mention is made, in verses 33 to 46, of Mṛituyujit,<sup>1</sup> who conquered death; Vīrasēna; Chitra *alias* Vyāghrakētu,<sup>2</sup> who obtained Indra in his banner; Pushpakētu of beautiful limbs; Kētumāla, who indulged in taking the flags of enemy kings; Samudrajit, who joined the two seas;<sup>3</sup> Pañchapa<sup>4</sup> who, by cutting open five arteries of his body, fed with blood

1 *Kalīṅgattupparanī* probably refers to this king by the passage *Kalanukku-idu-vaḷakkeṇav-urait-tav-avaṇ* and *Vikkiramaśōḷaṇ-ula* by the words "*Kūṟṟukku-tiēra-vaḷakk-uraitta Sēmbiyaṇ*."

2 Vyāghrakētu is spoken of in the *Kalīṅgattupparanī* as "*Puliyeṇak-koḍiyil-Indiraṇai-vaittavaṇ*".

3 Compare with "*Paṇariy-ṇṇṇiḍaiy-ṇṇṇu-puṇarillavaṇ*" of *Kalīṅgattupparanī* and "*mēl-kaḍalil-viṅgu-nīr kīl-kaḍalil-viṅṇem*" of *Vikkiramaśōḷaṇ-ula*.

4 In the *Kalīṅgattupparanī*, Pañchapa is referred to by the words "*Valiyiṇiṇ-kurudiy-unkeṇav-aḷittavaṇ*."

five Yakshas; Nrimriḍa, the conqueror of Death; and Manōratha. These names are not traceable in any of the Purāṇas. But as they are mentioned in the large Leyden grant,<sup>1</sup> the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates,<sup>1</sup> *Kalīṅgattupparanī* and other Tamil works of varying dates, one will be almost inclined to believe that they are not fictitious personages, but are real characters that have left marks of their existence in the country. It is not possible to declare either that they are real characters, borrowed from life, since it is quite likely, that some one of the early annalists invented these names and adopted them in the Chōḷa genealogy, and the chroniclers that came after, simply followed the earlier account.

As a prelude to what follows it is necessary to note that no continuous dynastic account of the Chōḷas prior to the 9th century A. D., when Vijayālaya started a new, or revived the old, line with his capital at Tanjore, is given in any of the authorities for Chōḷa history that have been brought to light so far. However, a few of the members of the earlier line are mentioned by name in inscriptions on stone and copper as well as in Tamil works like *Kalīṅgattupparanī* which attempt to give the pedigree of the Chōḷas. The irregular way in which these few persons figure in the various authorities, shows that at the time when the later charters of the Chōḷas were drawn up even the order in which the earlier sovereigns ruled was forgotten and that there were no written records or State papers to indicate the succession of kings of their time. For instance while the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates place Kiḷḷi at the head, Karikāla in the middle and Kōchcheṅgannāṇ at the end, the Leyden grant mentions Karikāla first, Kōchcheṅgannāṇ in the middle and lastly Kiḷḷi. A third order is followed in the *Kalīṅgattupparanī* which mentions Kiḷḷi first, Kōchcheṅgaṇ in the middle, and Karikāla afterwards. The Kan-yākumari record under review differs from all these and strikes an entirely new line, giving the names of three additional sovereigns, by omitting Kōchcheṅgannāṇ, and by mentioning them in the following order *viz.* Perunatkiḷḷi, Karikāla, Vaḷabha, Jagadēkamalla and Vyālabhayaṅkara. In spite of the dearth of information in inscriptions about these early sovereigns, there is yet another source *viz.* that contained in the early Tamil works of what is called the *śaṅgam* period which throw light on the past history of Southern India or at least of the Tamil country.

1 Here are the verses that speak of these persons:--

मृत्युजित्—

तद्वंशे सुरगुरुस्तवैरिवर्गो राजेन्द्रो रविकुलकेतुराविरासीत् ।

यो जित्वा रणभुवि मृत्युमप्यजय्यं दुष्प्रापामलभत मृत्युजित्समाख्यम् ॥ Leyden grant.

व्याघ्रकेतुः—

व्याघ्रकेतुरभवत्तदन्वये वैरिवारणमृगाधिपो नृपः । Leyden grant.

व्याघ्रकेतुरिति चित्ररथोभूद्याघ्रवद्भुजपटः क्षितिनाथः ।

तत्कुले प्रथितविक्रमराशिर्धातकीकुसुमभूषितमौलिः ॥ Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates.

पञ्चपः—

पञ्चपोऽजनि तदन्वये बली पार्थिवोऽर्थिजनकल्पपादपः । Leyden grant.

जितपञ्चशरो वपुर्गुणैर्विजयी पञ्चप इत्युदीरितः ।

अधिपं च दिवो विडम्बयन् समभूत्तकुलभूषणं नृपः ॥ Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates.

Now we turn to our inscription to see what information it gives about the kings that preceded the founder of the revived Chōla line *i. e.* Vijayālaya.

Verse 47 states that there were many kings in the Chōla family who were equal to the highly powerful and prosperous Perunatkiḷli. It will be useful to note here that the Tamil *śaṅgam* work *Puranānūru* mentions more persons than one who bore the name Kiḷli. One of these kings, Śōlaṅ Kuḷamurūttu-tuṇjina-Kiḷli-vaḷavaṇ laid siege to Karuvūr and conquered the Chēra king of his day. No less than eleven poets, including Kōvūrkiḷār, composed verses in his honour. This poet is the author of certain stanzas which are believed to speak of Kāriyāru-tuṇjina-Neḍunkilḷi of Uṟaiyūr, of his friend Iṇdattaṇ, and of Śōlaṅ Kurāppalli-tuṇjina-Kiḷli-vaḷavaṇ, the destroyer of Karuvūr. Another bard of the time of Kurāppalli-tuṇjina-Kiḷli-vaḷavaṇ is the author of certain other stanzas in the same collection which are said to refer to Śōlaṅ Ilavandigai-ppalli-tuṇjina-Nalaṅkiḷli Sēṭcheṇṇi, the contemporary of Neḍunkilḷi and of Ēnādi-Tirukkilḷi. It thus appears that all these Kiḷlis belonged to the same time or, at any rate, were not far removed from each other in point of time. The contemporaneity of the bards and the kings whom they celebrated, is assumed in the work under reference and there is nothing to discredit it.

It is not unlikely that many of the kings whose names are noted above were members of the royal line and that they figured largely in the wars undertaken by the reigning king. The principal event of the time was the war with the Chēras and their defeat at Karuvūr.

Another Chōla sovereign celebrated in the Tamil literature is Rājasūyam-vēṭṭa-Perunaṅkiḷli, who may be identical with the king of that name referred to as the ancestor of the Chōlas in the large Leyden grant, the Tiruvālaṅgaḍu plates, the Udayēndiraṇ charter of Prithivīpati II and of the Kanyākumari inscription. He is credited with having defeated the Chōla king Māndarañchēral-Irumporai, who was the lord of the Kolli mountain who freed the village of Viḷaṅgil, who was the friend of the poet Kapilar and who was taken captive by the Pāṇḍya king Talaiyālaṅgāṇattu-śeru-veṇṇa Neḍuñjeliyaṇ and was subsequently set at liberty. There were other kings also who bore the name Perunatkiḷli. These are Muḍi-talaikkō-Perunaṅkiḷli, whose Chēra contemporary was Śēramāṇ-Anduvañchēral-Irumporai; and Vērpahraḍakkai-Perunaṅkiḷli, who claimed to have slain Kuḍakkō-Neḍuñchēral-Āthaṇ. The relation-ship that existed between the various Kiḷlis is not stated anywhere but as the performanace of the ceremony indicates, Rājasūyam-vēṭṭa Perunaṅkiḷli may be considered to have been the most powerful of all. The Tamil work Maṇimēgalai reveals the name of another Chōla sovereign Veṅṇivē-kiḷli who is said to have married or kept as concubine the Nāga princess Pīlivalai, the daughter of Vaḷaiyaṇ.

Evident traces of the rule of the Kiḷlis are found in the Tanjore and Trichinopoly districts in such place names as Kiḷinallūr Nalaṅkiḷlinallūr, Kiḷlikuḍi etc.



The following table shows at sight that the seven kings mentioned in the above paragraph are contemporaries, elder or younger. The poet Kōvūrkiḷār connects numbers 1, 2, & 3 with No. 4 while the bard Kōṇāṭṭu Erich-chalūr Maḍilaṇ Maḍiraikkumarāṇ connects numbers 5, 6, & 7 with No. 4.

## I.

1 Iḷandattāṇ.	{	Kōvūrkiḷār {	{	Kōṇāṭṭu Erichchalūr- Maḍilaṇ Maḍiraikkumarāṇ.	{	5 Sōḷaṇ Iḷavandiḡappalli- tuṇṇiṇa Nalaṇkiḷli.
2 Kāriyāṇṇu-tuṇṇiṇa- Neḍuttkiḷli.						
3 Sōḷaṇ Kuḷamuyyattu- tuṇṇiṇa-Kiḷḷivaḷavaṇ.						
						6 Neḍumkiḷli.
						7 Eṇaḍi Tirukkūḷli.

## II.

Rājasūyam-vēṭṭa-Perunatkūḷli × { Māndarañchēral or Yāpaikkatchēy- } × Talaiyālaṇḡaṇāṭṭu-Sēruveṇṇa-Neḍuṇṇeliyaṇ.  
 { Māndarañchēral Irumborai and Sēra- }  
 { mān Māveṇkō. }  
 Ugra-Peruvaḷudi.

If the commonly accepted view that the authors of the stanzas embodied in the collection known as *Puṛaṇānūṟu* were contemporaries of the kings celebrated by them—a view which is based largely upon the note, entered at the end of each stanza—is correct, there is every possibility of fixing the dates when some of the kings flourished.

The data obtained from these works for fixing the time of the Chōḷa king Rājasūyamvēṭṭa-Perunaṟkiḷḷi are:—

i. That he defeated the Chēra king Yāṇaikkatchēy-Māndarañchēral-Irumborai.

ii. That this Chēra sovereign Yāṇaikkatchēy was put in prison, and subsequently set at liberty, by the Pāṇḍya king Neḍuñjeliyaṇ, the victor in the battle of Talaivālaṅgāṇam.

iii. That this Pāṇḍya was a lineal descendant of Palśālai-Mudukuḍumi-Peruvaḷudi according to Maduraikkāñchi of Māṅguḍi-Marudaṇār.

iv. That Nakkīrar was one of the poets that celebrated the fame of this Neḍuñjeliyaṇ.

v. That the same poet Nakkīrar is credited with having written a commentary in which he had composed a number of stanzas in exemplification of the rules of Agapporuḷ. The stanzas are more than 300 and record the achievements of another Pāṇḍya king of his day, called Neḍumāraṇ or Māraṇ (a shortened form of Māravarman).

vi. That this commentary (1) speaks of conquests effected by Neḍumāraṇ in a number of battle-fields among which are Nelvēli, Śeṇṇilam and Pālī; (2) states that his principal foes were the Chēras and (3) that there was a severe famine in the country in his time.

These six points are of great importance, and appear to be sufficient, to fix the date of Rājasūyamvēṭṭa-Perunaṟkiḷḷi, as will be seen from the sequel.

The Vēlvikkuḍi copper-plates whose contents have been noticed in the Madras Epigraphist's Annual Report on Epigraphy for 1908, furnish the following genealogy of the early sovereigns of Madura:—

- 1 Pāṇḍya Palyāgaśālai Mudukuḍumi-Peruvaḷudi.
- : 2 Kaḷabhra inter-regnum.
- 3 Kaḍuṅgōṇ.
- |
- 4 Māravarman.
- |
- 5 Śeḷiyaṇ Śendaṇ.
- |
- 6 Māravarman (Arikēsari, Asamasaman), who won victories in the battles of Nelvēli, Śeṇṇilam and Pālī.
- |

7 Śaḍaiyaṇ, who fought the battle of Marudūr.

8 Tēr-māraṇ, who defeated the Pallavas; married a Gaṅga princess and subdued Maḷakoṅgam.

9 Parāntaka Neḍunjaḍaiyaṇ whose minister was Madhurakavi also called Madhuratara, Māraṅkāri and Mūvēndamaṅgalappēraraiyaṇ.

At Āṇaimalai near Madura has been found a stone inscription of No. 9. That record<sup>1</sup> is dated in Kali 3871 (= A. D. 769-70) in the reign of Parāntaka Śaḍaiyaṇ and mentions the king's minister Madhurakavi *alias* Māraṅkāri *alias* Mūvēndamaṅgalappēraraiyaṇ, thus leaving absolutely no doubt as regards the identity of the king and his minister, with No. 9 and his minister of the Vēlvikkudī plates. The only thing that could be said and that has to be said is, that the minister was living in the 3rd year of the king's reign when the Vēlvikkudī grant was issued but was dead at the time of the Āṇaimalai record dated in 770 A. D.

It would be safe to view therefore that A. D. 770 fell not in the commencement of the king's reign but perhaps at the middle or end. Provisionally taking A. D. 770 to be the last year of No. 9 and assigning a reign of 30 years to each king we get for No. 5 A. D. 650-680. Now taking the last item i. e., vi. of the data, it does not require much intelligence on one's part to say that Nakkīrar's celebrity i. e. Māraṇ who gained victories in the battles of Nelvēli, Sēnnilam and Pāḷi is identical with No. 6 of Vēlvikkudī pedigree who was also a Māravarman and the victor in the very same battles *viz.* Nelvēli, Sēnnilam and Pāḷi. Nakkīrar has, therefore, to be considered as having flourished in the period A. D. 650-80,—the date of rule of this king. It must be noted that the verses composed in commemoration of the exploits of Neḍumāraṇ should form part of the original scheme of the commentary of Nakkīrar.<sup>2</sup>

Now we shall see how far the results we have obtained are confirmed by other sources. Śēkkiḷār, the author of the Tamil work Periyapurāṇam, states that the Śaiva saint Jñānasambandha had for his contemporary the Pāṇḍya king Neḍumāraṇ, who had acquired lasting fame by a brilliant victory won in the battle of

1 See *Ep. Ind.* Vol. VIII. pp. 319ff. The wording of the inscription is कलेः सहस्रात्रितयेब्दगो-

चरे गतेष्टशत्यामपि सैकसप्तसौ; अकृत कृती मधुरकविर्मधुरतरो मारसूनुरिदम्। मन्त्री स एव मति-  
मान्पाण्ड्यस्य परान्तकाभिधानस्य ॥ கொமரஞ்சுடையற்கு உத்தரமுகுரி எனக்குடி வெல்குறிந

முலெந்தமங்கலப்பெரையன் ஆகிய மாறங்காரி இக்கற்றளி செய்து நிர்த்தனியாதெய் லெ  
மு-ஜாரொஹணஞ் செய்த பின்னை.

2 Without these stanzas, the commentary is not worth its name; and it will even fail in its object. Though in a work of this kind there is room for admitting any number of stanzas from various authors there is no need to suppose, as is sometimes done, that the verses about Neḍumāraṇ cited in Nakkīrar's commentary illustrating the text of Agapporūl did not form part of the author's work. That such a view would be quite unnatural is clear from the fact that these verses form the bulk of the commentary and are essential to it as has already been shown. Here and there a few stanzas might have been inserted in later times and these will be apparent to any careful reader. It may be said that by expunging these later additions, the commentary would not suffer in the least; but it is not the case if we remove the stanzas about Neḍumāraṇ, because it will materially and seriously affect the commentary.

Nelvēli; and that the Pallava king of his day was he who gained success in the field of Vātāpī' i. e. Narasiṃhavarman. The time of this Pallava king and his Vātāpī battle has been accepted to be the middle of the 7th century A. D., a fact which proves the correctness of the date of Māraṇ, the victor of Nelvēli, and the hero celebrated by Nakkīrar in his commentary on Iṟaiyaṇār Agapporuḷ. Jñānasambandha and his biographer Śekkiḷār might be cited further to vouchsafe the truth of another fact relating to the time of Neḍumāraṇ embodied in the same commentary, viz, the existence of a famine.

Both Periyapurāṇam and the Dēvāraṁ hymns of Jñānasambandha bear testimony to the fact that there was a severe famine in the country in the middle of the 7th century A. D. It is reported in the former work that the two Śaiva saints Appar and Jñānasambandha were sorely afflicted with the thought of feeding the hosts of religious men that followed them in their peregrinations, that they were given each a gold *kāṣu* from the temple at Tiruvīlīmīlalai the place of their sojourn. A short hymn on that place composed by Jñānasambandha strangely enough echoes the same fact.

In this connection we have also to point out that the prevalence of famine in Southern India in the middle of the 7th century A. D. receives confirmation from another independent source. *Hwū-li* records that the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsiang who visited India about that period and reached as far south as conjeeveram, was prevented from proceeding further to Malakūṭa owing to the outbreak of a draught in that place.

This faithful reflection of the condition of South India or more particularly of its southern extremity, in the records left by foreign travellers, is a most convincing proof that adds strength to the account preserved in the *Periyapurāṇam* and the commentary on *Iṟaiyaṇār Agapporuḷ*. There is thus no doubt that the king represented in the last work i. e. Māraṇ or Neḍumāraṇ is identical with the one of the same name (i. e. Nelvēli-pōr-veṇṇa-niṇṇāśīr-Neḍumāraṇ) who was the contemporary of the Śaiva saint Jñānasambandha and with No. 6 Māraṇvarman the lineal descendant of Palyāṇasālai-Mudukuḍimi-Peruvalūdi and the son of Śēliyaṇ. It is easy to perceive that Nakkīrar, the contemporary of king Māraṇvarman, perhaps in the early part of the latter's reign, could well have been the contemporary of the king's father Śēliyaṇ or Neduñ-Jēliyaṇ, as he is called in Tamil works, just as Māraṇ is called Neḍumāraṇ; and as such, there is every likelihood of his having written the verses in praise of Neduñjēliyaṇ as well as of his successor Neḍumāraṇ.

The genealogy furnished in the Vēlvikkūdi plates and the facts stated therein about the kings, therefore, support strongly the tradition and literary evidence regarding the contemporaneity of Nakkīrar with (1) Neduñjēliyaṇ, the victor in the battle of Talaiyālaṅgānam and the hero of the poems Neḍunalvāḍai and Maduraikkāñchi; and with (2) Neḍumāraṇ, the victor in the battles of Nelvēli, Śenilam and Pāḷi and the hero celebrated in the verses embodied in the commentary on Iṟaiyaṇār-Agapporuḷ; and thus furnish the date A. D. 620-650 roughly for the Chōla king Rājasūyam-vēṭṭa-Perunaṅkiḷi and many of the celebrities of the last *śaṅgam* period.

Verses 48 and 49 introduce Karikāla, whose fame had spread far and wide and who, in order to prevent the inundation of the Kāvērī and the destruction

caused by it to crops and lands on either bank, erected a bund formed of earth, carried and thrown in baskets by enemy kings.

Students of Chōla history know very well that there were more kings than one who bore the name Karikāla;<sup>1</sup> but there is no fear of mistaking, on this account, the king who is referred to in the verses just quoted, for any other than the first of that name and it will be pointed out in the sequel that there is no room for entertaining any reasonable doubt in this connection. Before proceeding to discuss the events of the period to which Karikāla belonged, we may just note that the name Karikāla occurs sometimes in the slightly altered form Kalikāla. Two epigraphs of the Telugu-Chōla chief Tammusiddhi<sup>2</sup> and the Tiruvālaṅgādu plates of Rājendra-Chōla I<sup>3</sup> substitute Kalikāla for Karikāla. In either case, the name is significant, denoting, as it does, the king 'who was Death to the Kali-age', 'who was Death to the elephants (i. e. the forces of hostile kings)', or 'who had a charred leg'. The last carries with it a tradition that Karikāla came to be so called because he had his legs burnt.<sup>4</sup>

The wars waged and the battles won by this king seem to have greatly enriched and extended his dominion and brought in prosperity. The persons that lived at the time did not fail to notice his military exploits. In fact, in the compositions of the poets of his day, we find his deeds extolled in measured lines which prove the greatness of his fame, the splendour of his court and the wealth of his dominion. A glowing description of the Chōla territory and of its capital Kāvīrīppūmpattinam is given in the Tamil idyll *Paṭṭiṇappālai* which has been translated in the pages of the *Indian Antiquary* Vol. XLI, pp. 146ff. Some of the king's achievements were only of ephemeral or local importance as for example his fight with the neighbouring Chēra and Pāṇḍya powers and the subjugation of other potentates of the Tamil country<sup>5</sup> though they should have been highly valued at the time. In the *Rājapārampariyam* of the *Kalīngattupparaṇi*, certain stanzas refer to the achievements of Karikāla-Chōla.<sup>6</sup> Some of these facts find mention in the *Vikīramasōlaṇḍā* also. It is stated that Karikāla caused the Himalaya mountain to whirl round; that he engraved the tiger mark on it; that he made the subjugated kings to build the embankment of the Kāvērī; that he won a battle at Kurumi; and that he bestowed on the author

1 According to two Telugu-Chōla inscriptions, Karikāla had a grandson who was also named Karikāla (*Annual Report on Epigraphy for 1900* p. 17). Āditya II son of Sundara-Chōla *alias* Parāntaka II was known as Karikāla. The third king that bore the name was Virarājendra I (*South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. III p. 198). It was during the reign of this last sovereign that the Kanyākumari record was engraved. Therein also he is called Karikāla.

2 See *Ep. Ind.* Vol. VII. pp. 119ff. and 148ff.

3 *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. III. p. 418.

4 At the end of the commentary of Nachchinārkkiniyār on *Porunarāṟruppāḍai* is found the following stanzas:—

முச்சக் கரமு மனப்பதற்கு நீட்டியகா  
விச்சக் கரமே யனந்ததாற் செய்ச்செ  
யரிகான்மேற் தேன்றெடுக்கு மாய்புனனீர் நாடன்  
கரிகாலன் கானெருப் புற்று.

5 These are given in the *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XLI, pp. 146ff.

6 See verses 1, 20 and 21, which are reproduced below, p. 105, foot-note 1.

of *Pattinappalai* 1,600,000 gold pieces for his composition.<sup>1</sup> Though many were the achievements of Karikāla, the events that proved to be above passing interest were two, of which the more important was the construction of the Kāvērī embankment, which he caused to be put up to prevent the destruction of crops and lands during floods. He was almost the first sovereign to attend to this need. There are reasons to believe that this must have been done during the close of his eventful reign.<sup>2</sup> *Kalingattupparani* makes it certain that the king who constructed the embankment to the Kāvērī was the very sovereign in whose honour *Pattinappalai* was composed. In other words, it establishes the identity of the Karikāla of the *śaṅgam* works with the Karikāla who is reported in inscriptions to have built the Kāvērī bund. This being the most useful service rendered to humanity, posterity never failed to recognise it and to mention the same in their writings.

Accordingly, we find it noticed in the *Vikkramasōḷaṇ-ulā*,<sup>3</sup> *Śaṅkarasōḷaṇ-ulā* and others, as well as in the copper-plate charters of the Chōḷas<sup>4</sup> and the

- 1 செண்டுக்கொண்டு கரிகாலனோருநாளிலிமயச்  
சிமய மால்வரை திரித்தருளி \* \* \* \* \*  
\* \* \* \* \* மேரு முதுகிற்  
பாய்புலிக் குறி பொறித்தது மறிந்தபொழுதே  
தொழுதுமன்னரே கரைசெய்பொன்னியிற்  
தத்துநீர்வரால் குருமி வென்றதுந்  
தழுவு செந்தமிழ் பரிசில் வாணர் பொன்  
பத்தொடாறுநூறியிரம் பெறப்  
பண்டு பட்டினப் பாலை கொண்டதும். *Kalingattupparani*.

தெள்ளருவிச்  
சென்னி புலியேறிருத்திக் கிரிதிரித்துப்  
பொன்னிக் கரைகண்ட பூபதியும். *Vikkiramasōḷaṇ-ulā*.

- 2 This is perhaps the reason why it is not mentioned in the works composed during his life time such as *Pattinappalai*.  
3 See foot-note 1 above.  
4 The Leyden grant refers to it in these words:-

अरिकालो महीपालः करिकालस्तदन्वये ।

आविरासीदसौ चक्रे कावेरीतीरबन्धनम् ॥

(p. 206 of Arch. Survey of Southern India Vol. IV.):

and the Tiruvālaṅgādu plates have:

कालत्वात्करिणां कलेश्च सकलक्षोणीभृतां नायकं

यं प्राहुः कलिकालमुन्नतिमतामग्रेसरं सद्गुणैः ।

काञ्चीं यश्च नवीचकार कनकैस्सोभूदमुष्यान्वये

कावेरीतटबन्धनप्रकटितस्फीतात्मकीर्तिर्नृपः ॥

(p. 395 of Vol. III. of *South-Indian Inscriptions*.)

Telugu Chōlas.<sup>1</sup> Certain early epigraphs on stone and metal, belonging to the Chōlas<sup>2</sup> of the Telugu country, of about the 8th century A. D., also refer to the event.

The Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates of the time of Rājendra-Chōla I gives the valuable information that Karikāla made the town of Kāñchī new with gold.<sup>3</sup> Karikāla's connection with Kāñchī is known even otherwise. A stone inscription states that he ruled from that place.<sup>4</sup> The interest taken by the king in improving the city which as we know was the capital of the Pallavas from the earliest times, proves beyond question that he acquired it by conquest. Perhaps he wanted to it his strong-hold. From the Telugu-Chōla inscriptions we learn that the Pallava contemporary of Karikāla was Trilōchana-Pallava and that the latter was one of those kings that were subordinate to him and helped in the construction of the Kāvērī bund.<sup>5</sup> The passage in question runs thus:—

*Charaṇa-sarōruha-vihita-vilōchana Trilōchana - pramukh-ākhila-prithivī-śvara-kārīta-tīra.*

This information corroborates and supplants what is registered in the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates. The Chellūr plates of Vīra-Chōla and the Raṇastipūṇḍi grant of Vimalāditya state of Vijayāditya, the founder of the Western Chalukyas of Bādāmī, that he fought with Trilōchana-Pallava and died.<sup>6</sup> Thus it appears that the three kings Karikāla, Vijayāditya and Trilōchana-Pallava lived at the same time.

The Western Chalukya chronology as settled by Dr. Fleet would yield for Vijayāditya the founder of the line, a place at the end of the 5th century A. D.

- 1 An inscription of Tammusiddhi (Ep. Ind. Vol. VII. p. 123) reads:

तत्कुले कलिकालोभूत् कावेरीतीरकृन्तुपः ।

यत्केलियष्टितुलिते मेरौ व्यतिकृता दिशः ॥

and another of the same king (Ibid. p. 150) has it in a slightly altered form thus:

तस्मिन्कुले समभवत्कलिकालचोलो वीरः कवेरतनयां तटिनीं विधाता ।

यत्केलियष्टिपरिवर्द्धितमात्र एव मेरुचलन्यतिकरं हरितां चकार ॥

With the latter part of the two verses compare 'செண்டு கொண்டு கரிகாலனொரு நாளிலிமயச்சிமய மால்வரை கிரித்தருளி' of the *Kalīṅgattuparaṇi* and 'தெண்ணருவிச் சென்னி புலியேறிருத்திக்கிரி கிரித்து' of the *Vīḷkīraṇaṁālāṇḍi*.

- 2 The Puṇyakumāra plates (Ep. Ind. Vol. XI. p. 345) read:

दिनकरकुलमन्दराचलमन्दारपादपस्यकवेरतनयावेलोङ्घनप्रशमनप्रमुखाद्यनेकातिशयकारिणः त्रैराज्य-स्थितिमात्मसात्कृतवतः करिकालस्यान्वये काश्यपगोत्रः नन्दिवर्मा नाम नृपतिरभवत् .

- 3 See foot-note 5 above.

- 4 Annual Report on epigraphy for 1900, p. 17 para 46.

- 5 Ibid para 44 and Ep. ind Vol. XI p. 40 foot-note 2.

- 6 तद्वंश्यो विजयादित्यनामा राजा विजिगीषया दक्षिणापथं

गत्वा त्रिलोचनपल्लवमधिक्षिप्य दैवदुरीहया लोकान्तरमगमत्

(S. I. I. Vol. I. pp. 49ff. and Ep. Ind. Vol. VI., pp. 352).

Karikāla, being a contemporary of Trilōchana-Pallava and Vijayāditya, has therefore been assigned the same date.<sup>1</sup>

An important fact revealed in the Vēlūrpālaiyam plates is the capture of Kāñchī attributed to Kumāravishṇu I,<sup>2</sup> which shows beyond doubt that the very capital of the Pallavas was lost by one of Kumāravishṇu's ancestors, probably by his immediate predecessor on the throne and it confirms the account given about Karikāla with regard to the occupation of Kāñchī. Kumāravishṇu I must have driven back the Chōlas and got possession of his capital; else, there is not much significance in the boast of a Pallava king capturing his own capital. The Pallava chronology would only support the date assigned to Karikāla, for between the father of Kumāravishṇu I and Simhavishṇu (A. D. 580) there were only four generations,<sup>3</sup> which could have covered a period of 100 years.

In the following three verses (vv. 50—52), kings Vaḷabha, Jagadēkamalla and Vyālabhayaṅkara are introduced. Of these, Vaḷabha is referred to in the large Leyden plates where, however, he is mentioned as the son of Muchukunda.<sup>4</sup> The Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates state that Vaḷabha founded the city of Vaḷabhi.<sup>5</sup> Jagadēkamalla appears as a distinct Western Chalukya title in later times. But since we know that some of the Chōlas of the Telugu country, who trace their descent from Karikāla, bore Pallava and Western Chalukya titles,<sup>6</sup> it is not unlikely that this Jagadēkamalla was a member of that branch of the Chōlas. Vyālabhayaṅkara is entirely new to history. Perhaps he was also one of the same line.

Verses 53 and 54 speak of Vijayālaya, the founder of the revived Chōla line at Tanjore. While the Kanyākumari record states that he constructed the town of Tañchāpurī, the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates hint that he captured it.<sup>7</sup> The latter information appears to be more correct as the existence and importance of the town in earlier times is clearly proved by the epigraphs on the Śendalai pillars. It is fairly certain that Vijayālaya should have taken Tanjore from a member of the Muttaraiyan kings, one of whom *i. e.* Perumbiḍugu Muttaraiyan of the 8th century called himself king of Tanjore.<sup>8</sup> It is worthy of note that not a single inscription of any Chōla king prior to the time of Vijayālaya for over a

1 In. Ep. Ind. Vol. XI p. 340 M. R. Ry. Rao Sahib. H. Krishna Sastri correcting a small error in my paper on Karikāla contributed to the *Indian Antiquary* Vol. XLI. pp. 146ff, viz. of identifying Vijayāditya with the grandson, instead of the founder of the Western Chalukya line, writes on the date thus: "It may be presumed that the three kings Karikāla, Vijayāditya and Trilōchana-pallava were almost contemporaries. From the account given in the Eastern Chalukya copper-plates, it appears as if five generations had passed between Vijayāditya and Kubja-Vishṇuvardhana before the latter came to rule over the Vēṅgīdēśa and founded the Eastern Chalukya dynasty, in or about A. D. 615. Calculating backwards for five generations we arrive at the conclusion that Vijayāditya, and therefore also Trilōchana-Pallava and Karikāla, must have flourished about the end of the fifth century A. D."

2 *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. II. page 510.

3 See *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. VIII. pp. 233ff. and *Historical Sketches of Ancient Dekhan*, p. 33.

4 *Archaeological Survey of Southern India*, Vol. IV. p. 206, text-lines 11 and 12.

5 *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. III, p. 415. v. 18.

6 The Pallava names Nandivarman, Simhavishṇu, Mahēndravikrama, and the Western Chalukya name Vikramāditya occur as surnames or names of these kings: See page 48 of the Madras Epigraphist's report for 1905.

7 *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. III. page 418, verse 45.

8 *Ep. Ind.* Vol. XIII. p. 136.



century has yet been traced in the ancient Chōla territory which comprised the Tanjore and Trichinapoly districts. As has been said already, we have direct evidence to show that it was ruled by the Muttaraiyans in the 8th century A. D. The existence of an epigraph of Varaguna-Pāṇḍya in the Trichinopoly cave<sup>1</sup> and a few others<sup>2</sup> in the Tanjore district, coupled with the fact that Varaguna-Mahārāja was encamped at Araiśūr on the Pennar river (South Arcot district) in Tonḍaināḍu while he made a gift to the temple at Ambāsamudram<sup>3</sup> clearly indicate that the Pāṇḍyas had occupied the ancient Chōla territory and were striving hard to take possession of the southern portion of the Pallava dominion also. There are grounds for thinking that the kingdoms of the Pāṇḍyas and Pallavas adjoined each other and that the Muttaraiyans allied themselves with one party or the other<sup>4</sup> in the 8th century A. D. and the earlier part of the 9th. Before the establishment by Vijayālaya of a new dynasty of Chōlas at Tanjore, the Chōlas must have held a subordinate position under the Pallavas. In this connection, the statement of the Vēlūrpālaiyam plates of Nandivarman, the grandson of Pallavamalla, that the *viññapti* of the grant registered in them was a certain Chōla-Mahārāja, is worth remembering. That this person was not a private individual but was one holding an influential position and authority is made clear by the description given of him. It is said that he was the heroic head-jewel of the Chōla race, that the glory of his prowess was well known, that his liberality was that of Karna and that his conduct upright.<sup>5</sup> His proper name was Kumārāṅkuśa. Nandivarman, in whose reign this Chōla-Mahārāja Kumārāṅkuśa flourished, was not far removed in point of time from Vijayālaya. While Nandivarman was the grandson of Pallavamalla, who flourished in about the end of the 8th century A. D., Vijayālaya was the grandfather of Parāntaka I, whose accession took place in A. D. 907. If Vijayālaya came of the same family as the Chōla-Mahārāja Kumārāṅkuśa, it is very likely that he was the grandson of his. No upstart could have commanded what needed to establish a new line, and in a short time to uproot a reigning dynasty. In all likelihood, therefore, the very Chōlas who held a subordinate position under the Pallavas should have seized a fitting opportunity to throw off the yoke of submission and to proclaim their independence. Such an opportunity presented itself in the middle of the 9th century A. D., when the Pāṇḍyas were pressing hard against the Pallavas. During the first half of the ninth century, the Pāṇḍya country was ruled by Varaguna-Mahārāja and his son Śrīmāra-Parachakrakōlahala.<sup>6</sup> And since it is said that this Varaguna-Mahārāja was once encamped at Araiśūr on the Pennar,<sup>7</sup> it is clear that he penetrated into the very heart of the Pallava territory. At this time, the latter's

1 No. 414 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1904.

2 No. 17 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1907 from Tiruviśālūr, No. 51 of the same collection for 1985, found at Tillasthanam, No. 13 of the same collection for 1909 found at Kumbhakonam and two others (Nos. 358 and 364 of 1907) from Āḍuturai, might also belong to the same king.

3 Ep. Ind. Vol. IX. pp. 84 to 94.

4 Some of the Muttaraiyans appear in the records of the later Pallavas as well as in the epigraphs of Māraṇḍajaiyān and Śaḍaiyamāraṇ (Ep. Ind. Vol. XIII. p. 134ff.)

5 *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. II. p. 512, verse 26 and the Tamil portion which follows it.

6 These two, being the father and grandfather of Varagunavarman, who ascended the throne in A. D. 862, have to be assigned to the first half of the 9th century.

7 See above, note 3.

dominion was governed by either Nripatuṅga or his father Nandivarman.<sup>1</sup> The Pallavas were not slow to retrieve their loss. The Bāhūr plates report that Nripatuṅga marched as far as the river Araiṣil in the Tanjore district and made the very army, that had formerly been defeated by the Pāṇḍyas, burn down the hosts of enemies along with the prosperity of the opponents kingdom.<sup>2</sup> But this Pallava king did not live long, for it is said that, though young, the widely renowned Nripatuṅga was reputed like Rāma not only in this world but also in the other,—a clear hint that he met with an early death.<sup>3</sup> Varaguṇa-Mahārāja's successor Śrīmāra is reported in the Siṅṇamaṇūr plates to have successfully met in battle the Pallavas among a host of others.<sup>4</sup> In fact he was called Pallava-bhaṇjana and the battle was fought at Kuḍamūḱku i. e. Kumbhakōṇam. These facts are enough to show that peace did not reign in southern India consequent on the circumstance that the Pallavas and the Pāṇḍyas were making their best endeavours to establish their suzerainty in the Dekhan. The closing of the events noted above takes us to the reign of Varaguṇavarman and of his contemporaries the Chōḷa Āditya I and the Pallava Aparājita, as will be seen in the sequel. And it may be noted that some of the events noticed might have happened during the reign of Vijayālaya. But it is quite significant that Vijayālaya claims no victory over the Pāṇḍyas, though the battles were mostly fought in the Tanjore district. Can it be that he was acting only on behalf of his overlord the Pallava, and the inclusion of his name in the Chōḷa pedigree is due to the fact that he was the father of Āditya, who really subverted the Pallavas? Could it not be that Vijayālaya was entrusted with the government of the southern part of the Pallava dominion before he or his successor asserted his independence?

Verse 55 speaks of Vijayālaya's son Ādityavarman. From it we learn for the first time that he was called Kōḍaṇḍarāma. His defeat of the Pallava king, which is also reported therein, is not a new information. "Having conquered in battle the Pallava who had brilliant troops, though he was Aparājita (i. e. the

- 1 The genealogy of the Pallavas of this period stands as under:—  
N. Pallavamalla

|  
Danti

|  
Nandi

|  
Nripatunga.

As Nandivarman Pallavamalla's reign extended up to the last quarter of 8th century, A. D. the last two have to be assigned to the first half of the 9th century.

- 2 The verse that contains this fact reads as follows:—

यत्प्रसादाज्जिता सेना पाण्ड्येन समरे पुरा ।

पारेऽरिचित्सराज्यश्चि ददाह रिपुसंहतिम् ॥

See *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. II, p. 515. Verse 16.

- 3 *Ibid.* Verse 17.

नृपतुङ्ग इति ख्यातो बालोऽपि भुवनेश्वरः ।

ख्यातो न केवलं भूमावमुष्मिन्नपि रामवत् ॥

- 4 *Annual Report on Epigraphy (Madras)* for 1907, p. 68, para 23.

unconquered", says the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu grant "he (viz. the Chōla king Āditya) also took possession of his queen (viz) the earth and thus accomplished his object".<sup>1</sup> The statement is plain and there is no mistaking the fact that Aparājita was the Pallava contemporary of the Chōla Āditya I and that the latter defeated and took possession of his kingdom of Tonḍai-nāḍu. This event must have happened at the end of the third quarter of the 9th century A. D.<sup>2</sup> But it has to be said that Aparājita, allying himself with the Gaṅga king Prithivīpathi I, fought a battle at Śrīpurambiyam against Varaguṇa-Pāṇḍya and gained a victory, though the Gaṅga ally lost his life in the strife.<sup>3</sup> This event, which is recorded in the Udayēndiram grant, cannot be connected with the one mentioned in the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates for the reason that Aparājita was successful in the former, but was defeated and deprived of his kingdom in the latter. The Śrīpurambiyam battle must, therefore, have happened in the early years of Aparājita's reign. Since Aparājita's epigraphs range in date between the third and eighteenth years of reign,<sup>4</sup> he must have lost possession of Tonḍai-nāḍu in the 18th year of reign<sup>5</sup> and this should have fallen in about A. D. 870. The fact that Aparājita was able to come unopposed by the Chōlas as far south as Śrīpurambiyam in the Tanjore district, in the first instance, might be taken to indicate that even Āditya I held a subordinate position under him or that he fought on his behalf. The latter is unlikely because no mention is made in the Udayēndiram grant of the part played by the Chōlas. We have only to hold that the clashing of interest between the Pallavas and the Chōlas did not arise till about the 18th regnal year of Aparājita, when the Pallava kingdom was subverted by Āditya I. The extension of the Chōla dominion into Tonḍai-nāḍu is also recorded in a Tillaisthānam<sup>6</sup> inscription. That Āditya had the title Rājakēsarivarman needs no saying, for his son Parāntaka I was distinctly a Parakēsarivarman. Since effecting the conquest of Tonḍai-nāḍu, he appears to have been known as "Tonḍai-nāḍu pāviṇa-Rājakēsarivarman" just as his son Parāntaka I was called in later years "Madiraikonḍa or Madiraiyūm Ilamam-konḍa Parakēsarivarman". Long before the discovery of the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates, which for the first time explicitly stated that Āditya I took possession of Tonḍai-nāḍu defeating its ruler Aparājita, and the Tillaisthānam record referring to the same event, Mr. Venkayya attributed to Āditya I a Rājakēsarivarman epigraph of Tirukkalukkunṇam, in which it is stated that this Chōla king renewed a grant which was made by the Pallava king Skandaśishya and confirmed by Narasimhavarman I the conqueror of Vātāpī, clearly indicating that the rulers of that part of the country prior to Āditya's occupation, were the Pallavas.<sup>7</sup> The necessity for the renewal of earlier grants, it needs hardly be said,

1 Ep. Ind. Vol. IX. p. 88.

2 Parāntaka I having commenced his reign in A. D. 907, his father Āditya has to be assigned to the last quarter of the 9th century.

3 Ep. Ind. Vol. IX. p. 87, and *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. II, p. 384, verse 18.

4 No. 435 of the *Madras Epigraphist's collection* for 1905 is dated in the 18th year of the reign of Aparājita-vikrama while No. 351 of the same collection for 1908 is dated in the 3rd year of his reign.

5 See foot note 2 above.

6 *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. III. p. 221.

7 *Christian College Magazine* for October 1890.

was the change in the government of the country. The Tirukkaḷukkuṇṇam epigraph is thus one of great importance to Chōḷa history as it proves the reality of the claim made in stone and copper-plates.

Now we have to point out one other event which probably occurred during the reign of Āditya I. It is the conquest of Koṅgu. Inscriptions of Parāntaka I found in the Koṅgu country i. e. at Sōmūr and other places and the mention of Koṅgapperuvali and Koṅgu people in his inscriptions show that Āditya I should have conquered Koṅgu, for Parāntaka I did not lay claim to it though his inscriptions are found there.

The Kanyākumari inscription further brings to notice the fact that Āditya I was called Kōdaṇḍarāma. One other person in the Chōḷa line bore this name. It was Rājāditya. Three inscriptions<sup>1</sup> refer to prince Kōdaṇḍarāma and in one of them he is distinctly stated to be the eldest son of Parāntaka I, thus making the identification of prince Kōdaṇḍarāma with Rājāditya rest on firm basis. In discussing the contents of a Tirumālpuram inscription, the late Mr. Venkayya drew attention to a Toṇḍamanāḍ epigraph of Parāntaka I wherein it is stated that the temple of Kōdaṇḍarāmēśvara *alias* Ādityēśvara at Toṇḍamān-Pērārrūr was erected as a *paḷḷippaḍai* to the king who died at Toṇḍaimān-Ārrūr, and said that Toṇḍaimān-Ārrūr must be identical with Toṇḍamanāḍ near Kālahasti for the reason that it is called in the inscriptions Toṇḍaimān-pēr-Ārrūr.<sup>2</sup> Though he was at first inclined to think that the temple should have been called after the son of Parāntaka I, he corrected himself and said later on that the temple in question should stand probably near the burial ground of Āditya I or over it.<sup>3</sup> The point to which we have to draw attention is that the name Kōdaṇḍarāmēśvara itself is derived from the other name of Āditya I and that the temple must have been built during the time of Parāntaka I whose record it bears and in honor of his father. It needs no saying that the shrine could not have been erected in honor of prince Rājāditya who was then living, because it is expressly stated that the temple was constructed as a *paḷḷippaḍai*.

The achievements of Parāntaka I are recorded in the next five verses (56—60). It is said that he was the son of Āditya I (v. 56); that he killed the Pāṇḍya king together with all his forces, took possession of his wealth and reduced to ashes Mādura and aquired the title Madhurāntaka (v. 57); conquered the unconquerable Rāshtrakūṭa king Kṛishṇa III and thus obtained the title Vīra-Chōḷa (v. 38); killed the lords (i. e. the kings) of Siṃhaḷa (Ceylon) and assumed the significant surname Siṃhaḷāntaka (v. 59); and built *agrahāras* called after his name Vīranārāyaṇa and gave them away to be enjoyed by learned Brāhmaṇas (v. 60).

Friendly relationship existed between the Chēras and Chōḷas during the reign of Parāntaka I, as in the days of Āditya I. The Chōḷa queen Kōkkiḷā-

1 Nos. 318 and 347 of the *Madras Epigraphical Collection* for 1904 and No. 164 of the same collection for 1912.

2 *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1905, p. 50; and the same for 1907 p. 72.

3 *Ibid.*, p. 72.

ṇaḍigal was a Chēra princess.<sup>1</sup> Nīlī, the daughter of the Chēra king Vijayarāga, visited Tiruvorriyūr in the Chōḷa dominion and made presents to the Śiva temple of Āḍhipurīśa.<sup>2</sup> The army and retinue of prince Rājāditya counted several persons who were natives of the west coast.<sup>3</sup> In fact, Vellaṅkumaran, the general of Rājāditya, was of the Kēraḷa country.<sup>4</sup> All these circumstances bear testimony to the same fact.

The Pāṇdyas, as we have already seen, proved a formidable obstacle in the way of the Chōḷa expansion. Accordingly, Parāntaka I had to direct his attention first to the subjugation of this refractory people. Before the third year of his reign had passed, he appears to have struck a blow against them and assumed the title of "Madiraikoṇḍa" as his stone inscriptions amply prove.<sup>5</sup> The Udayēdiram grant probably refers to this event when it says that "Parāntaka's army having crushed at the head of a battle the Pāṇḍya king together with the army of elephants, horses and soldiers, seized a herd of elephants and the city of Madura".<sup>6</sup> The king conquered the Bāṇas and the Vaidumbas. Subsequently, the Pāṇdyas sought the help of the king of Ceylon and the following version of the *Mahāvansa* relating to this circumstance is worth noting.<sup>7</sup>

"King Pāṇḍu who had warred with the king of Chōḷa and was routed, sent many presents unto Kaśśapa V that he might obtain an army from him. And the king, the chief of Laṅkā, took council with his ministers and equipped an army: and appointing Śakkasēnāpati to the command thereof, accompanied himself to Mahātitha. And he stood on the shore and brought to their mind the victories of former kings and gave them courage and then sent them into the ships. And Śakkasēnāpati carried them safely to the other side of the sea and reached the Pāṇḍiyan country. And when king Pāṇḍu beheld the army and the captain thereof, he was greatly pleased and exclaimed: "All Jambudvīpa shall I now bring under the canopy of one dominion" and then he led the two armies (his own and the Singhalese king's) to battle. But he succeeded not in conquering the king of the Chōḷian race. And so he abandoned the struggle and returned to his own place."

The date of Kaśśapa V is given in the *Mahāvansa* as A. D. 925—939. If the chronology of the Singhalese work is to be relied upon, the above event

1 *Ep. Ind.* Vol. VII. p. 133: *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. II. p. 383, verse 8 and No. 261 of the *Madras Epigraphical Collection* for 1907. Rājāditya was the son of this queen, and one of her servants built the Tirutṇḍīśvara temple at Tirunāmanallūr in the South Arcot district.

2 *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. III. p. 236.

3 Iravikōḍai (331/02), Iyakkan Rāman of Malai-nāḍu (346/02) Tirukkunṇappōḷaṅ Śēṇḍakumāran (343/02), Vēḷakulasundaran of Kaṇḍiyūr in Malai-nāḍu (341/02), Kaṇḍan Kāman of Maṇḍakarai in Vachcha-nāḍu a subdivision of Neḍumpuraiyūr-nāḍu (337/02) and Maṇavallaṅ Kaṇṇan of Kāṇamaṅḡalam in Neduṅkalai-nāḍu figure in the inscriptions of Parāntaka I found at Tirunāmanallūr (Annual Report of the Director General of Archæology in India, for 1905-6 p. 181).

4 Annual Report of the Director General of Archæology in India for 1905-6 pp. 181f.

5 No. 29 of the *Madras Epigraphical Collection* for 1907.

6 *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. II. p. 387, verse 9.

7 Wijesinha's Translation Chap. LII. p. 80.

should have occurred between the dates A. D. 929—939. But it looks as if the Udayēndiram charter of Prithivīpati II (A. D. 921—2) refers to the same event when it says that “Parāntaka I having slain in an instant at the head of a battle an immense army despatched by the lord of Laṅkā which teemed with elephants, brave soldiers and was interspersed with troops of elephants and horses, he bears in this world the significant title of Sangrāmarāghava i. e. who resembled Rāma in battle”.<sup>1</sup> Another inscription of Parāntaka, dated in the 12th year of reign corresponding to A. D. 918—919, also refers to the invasion against the combined forces of the Pāṇḍyas and the Singhalese and states that the battle was fought at Vēlūr.<sup>2</sup> If all the three sources celebrate the same event, it might be said that it should have taken place not long before A. D. 918—9 and in which case there is clearly an error in assigning the period of rule of Kaśśapa V.

The defeat of the Singhalese troops that came to the aid of the Pāṇḍya was not the occasion for Parāntaka's assuming the title “Madiraiyum Īlamum-koṇḍa”, which he seems to have done after conquering the island of Ceylon in about the close of his reign i. e. about A. D. 944.<sup>3</sup> Accordingly, we find it mentioned in epigraphs dated later than the 37th year of reign. The Tiruvālaṅgaḍu grant speaks of it in these words<sup>4</sup>:—

“All the waters of the sea were not enough to quench the fire of the Chōla king's anger, which consumed the enemies and which was put out only by the tears of the wives of the kings of Siṃhaḷa, cut and killed by the king's weapons.”

The immediate cause of this invasion of Ceylon was the shelter given by its king to the Pāṇḍya sovereign who, fearing the wrath of the Chōla, appears to have sought it. The Tiruvālaṅgaḍu plates say “The Pāṇḍya king, intent as it were, on extinguishing the fire of the Chōla king's valour entered the ocean deserting his hereditary dominion”<sup>5</sup> And the *Mahāwansa*<sup>6</sup> records. “Now at the time (Dappula V's reign ranging between A. D. 940—952), king Pāṇḍu, because he feared the Chōlians, left his country, got into a ship and landed in Mahāṭṭha. And the king sent unto him and was well pleased to see him, gave him great possessions and caused him to live outside the city. And while the king of Laṅkā was yet preparing for war thinking unto himself “Now shall I make war with the Chōlian king, take two seaports and give them unto king Pāṇḍu”.

If the Kanyākumari inscription registers the events of the reign of Parāntaka I in chronological order, as it seems likely and as could be proved by other evidences, there is in it a very significant fact to which we must draw particular

1 *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. II. p. 387, verse 10.

2 *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1904-5 Part II. para 8: Do. for 1907, p. 72.

3 *Ibid*, p. 73.

4 See verse 52 p. 396 of the *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. III.

5 Verse 51 Do. Do.

6 Chapter LIII. p. 81f.

attention. Unlike the large Leyden plates<sup>1</sup> and the Tiruvālaṅgaḍu grant<sup>2</sup> our inscription attributes to Parantaka I conquest over the Rāshtrakūṭa king Kṛishṇa III and places this event before the conquest of Ceylon, detailed above. As regards the last, the facts worth remembering are that while the inscriptions of Parāntaka I dated prior to A. D. 944 refer to the king by the epithet "Madiraikōṇḍa", those dated after that year invariably call him by the epithet "Madiraiyum Īlamum-kōṇḍa" indicating that the king's Ceylon expedition in which he gained unqualified success took place after that year. Now if his conquest or fight with the Rāshtrakūṭa king Kṛishṇa III was effected prior to this, it must have fallen in about A. D. 942—3 allowing a year or two for the preparation of the southern expedition. The writer of the Kanyākumari inscription says:—

यज्जिगाय विजयोपमद्युतिः कृष्णराजमजितं नराधिपैः ।

भूरिविक्रमविवर्धितद्युतिर्वीरचोळ इति तेन कीर्त्यते ॥

that by conquering the unconquerable Kṛishṇarāja, Parāntaka acquired the surname Vīra-Chōḷa. Thus, this inscription places beyond doubt the fact that the Rāshtrakūṭa king Kṛishṇa III occupied Tonḍai-maṇḍalam and contested first with the Chōḷa king Parāntaka I and not with his son Rājāditya; it also makes clear that Rājāditya's encounter with the same Rāshtrakūṭa king in which he was killed by the Gaṅga Bhūtuga in a hand to hand fight on the back of the elephant was quite a different one, which took place sometime later in about A. D. 947—8.<sup>3</sup> That Kṛishṇa III occupied Tonḍai-maṇḍalam in or prior to A. D. 942 is proved by an inscription of his discovered at Siddhalīṅgamaḍam, dated in the fifth year of reign.<sup>4</sup> Since the highest regnal year of Kṛishṇa III is known to be 30 and his death took place in Śaka 889<sup>5</sup> (= A. D. 967), it is plain that Kṛishṇa III should have ascended the throne in A. D. 937. His fifth year of reign should, therefore, correspond to A. D. 942, when he was in possession of a part of the Chōḷa dominion. My inference in this respect, made a few years ago, receives confirmation from the Kanyākumari inscription, which in plain and unequivocal terms states that Parāntaka I fought with the Rāshtrakūṭa king Kṛishṇa III and it places the event before the king's Ceylon expedition which took place in A. D. 945. This valuable information is quite new and refers to a different event from the one recorded in the large Leyden plates.

1 The Leyden plates say "the heroic Rājāditya, the ornament of the solar race, having conquered the unconquerable Kṛishṇarāja with his army in battle, by his own sharp arrows filling all sides and having his heart pierced while seated on the back of his elephant by crowds of sharp arrows discharged by him (i. e. Kṛishṇarāja and being famous in the three worlds, ascended the car of the gods and went to the world of heroes." The actual person that killed Rājāditya was Krishna's Gaṅga ally Bhūtuga. This is learnt from the Ātakūr inscription which as interpreted by Mr. Narasimhachari is as follows:—

"Bhūtuga undauntedly mounted the elephant on which Rājāditya was seated and engaging him in hand to hand fight in the howdah itself, stabbed him with a dagger and thus killed him."

2 In the Tiruvālaṅgaḍu plates it is said that Rājāditya after conquering Kṛishṇarāja went to heaven (V. 54. p. 396 of S. I. I. Vol. III.)

3 See note 1 above.

4 No. 375 of the *Madras Epigraphical Collection* for 1909.

5 No. 236 of the same collection for 1913.

Verses 61 and 62 speak of Arindama and say that he was the son of Parāntaka I and won some military distinction. It has to be observed that the inscription passes over the names of Rājāditya<sup>1</sup> and Gaṇḍarāditya, as it does later on with the names of Āditya II *alias* Karikāla and Uttama-Chōla. The reason for the omission is not far to seek. The writer seems to have concerned himself only in tracing the direct line of Vīrarājendra. It may be well, however, to bear in mind that none of the authorities for Chōla history so far available attributes to any of the three sons of Parāntaka I conquest over the Pāṇdyas. In fact none of them held the reins of government for long. Rājāditya passed away five years prior to the death of his father, and, as has been shown elsewhere, Gaṇḍarāditya and Arindama could not have reigned for more than a few months.

In speaking of Sundara-Chōla *alias* Parāntaka II, the Kanyākumari record says (v. 63) that the quivering Pāṇḍya contemporary of his crossed the mountain and fled away. In some of the stone inscriptions, Sundara-Chōla assumes the epithet "Pāṇḍiyanai-churam-irakkiṇa" i. e. "who caused the Pāṇḍya king enter the forest". After Parāntaka I, it may be said that Sundara-Chōla was the next sovereign that is reported to have fought with the Pāṇdyas. Though the large Leyden grant records that this king fought a sanguinary battle at Chēūr, it does not mention the name of his enemy. But when it says that his son Āditya II Karikāla, while yet a boy, played sportively with Vīra-Pāṇḍya as a lion's cub with a mast elephant, it may be correctly presumed that Sundara-Chōla's Pāṇḍya opponent was Vīra-Pāṇḍya.

Of Rājārāja I, who ascended the throne in A. D. 985 and did much to extend the Chōla territory, nothing more is recorded in the Kanyākumari inscription than that he was the son of Parāntaka II *alias* Sundara-Chōla (v. 64), that he defeated the Western Chalukya king Satyāśraya (v. 67), and slew many enemy kings (v. 66). But a better account is preserved in the Tiruvālaṅgaḍu grant. It states that his proper name was Arumolivarman<sup>2</sup> (v. 70), that when his brother Āditya died, the subjects requested him to occupy the throne, but he did not want it while his paternal uncle desired to have it,<sup>3</sup> (v. 69), that when he became king

- 1 The physical impossibility of Rājāditya's survival after his father, —the former having been killed in battle in 947 A. D. and the latter having ruled over the Chōla dominions up to A. D. 953, must be clearly borne in mind. The entire absence of records of the time of Gaṇḍarāditya and Ariudama cannot but indicate that both of them passed away soon after Parāntaka I. Gaṇḍarāditya seems to have led a pious life as is amply proved by his wife's erecting temples in his honour.
- 2 The name Arumolīdēva-vaṇaṇḍu was given to the territorial division Tenkaḍuvay which comprised parts of the Negapatam, Nannilam, Tirutturaippundi, Mayavaram and Mannargudi taluks. One of the quarters of Tanjore was known by the name Arumolīdēva-terinda-tirup-parikalattārvēlam. Arumolīdēva-chatuvedimaṅgalam was a village in Puraṅgarambai-nādu and Arumolī-Iśvara the name of a temple. These figure in Tanjore inscriptions. There was also a grain or liquid measure bearing the name Arumolīdēvan-marakkāl.
- 3 That Madhurāntakan Uttama-Chōla, the son of Gaṇḍarāditya, had a better title to the Chōla throne, but that he was a minor during the period of rule of Ariūjaya and Parāntaka II and had shared in the government of the Chōla country with Āditya II, during the latter's short reign have been indicated by me elsewhere (*Historical Sketches* p. 233ff). It is a very significant fact that Rājārāja refused to ascend the Chōla throne in spite of the wish of the people. But for this stroke of policy there would have been a civil war in the Chōla dominions.



he directed his attention to the conquest of the quarters commencing with the south (v. 76), that he seized king Amarabhujāṅga<sup>1</sup> (v. 78), while his general captured Viḷiṇṇam<sup>2</sup> (i. e. Viḷiṇṇam) which had the sea for its moat (V. 79), burnt the lord of Laṅkā<sup>3</sup> (v. 80.), fought with Satyāśraya and put him to flight<sup>4</sup> (v. 81.), killed the Andhra king Bhīma<sup>5</sup> who had put to death a certain Rājārāja (v. 82), conquered the country created by Paraśurāma<sup>6</sup> (v. 83), and that he subdued, and received homage from, Gaṅga, Kāliṅga, Vaṅga, Māgadha, Āraṭṭa, Oḍḍa, Saurāshṭra, Chalukya and other kings<sup>7</sup> (v. 84). The Vikkīramaśōḷaṇulā, registers the fact that, in retaliation for the insult offered to an envoy, Rājārāja took possession of eighteen forests together with Malai-nāḍu (i. e. Malabar)<sup>8</sup> and Kulottuṅgaśōḷaṇ-ulā refers to him as one cutting off eighteen heads and setting

- 1 From the wording of the plates we cannot be sure that Amarabhujāṅga was a Pāṇḍya king, though it is not very unlikely. It may be pointed out here that the name Amarabhujāṅga actually occurs among the Kēraḷa kings of the Koṅḍu country (see the *Annual Report on Epigraphy* (Madras) for 1906. p. 75.
- 2 Viḷiṇṇam was one of the most ancient places of the Chēra country. According to the Śīṇṇamaṇṇūr copper-plates, the Pāṇḍya king Śrīmāra Parachakrakoḷāhala fought a battle at this place. From the commentary on the Irāiyāṇār Agapporūl, we learn that the Pāṇḍya king Arikēsari Māravarman (A. D. 620-650) contended here against the Chēra. The place is described as being situated on the sea shore (*Historical Sketches* p. 124). The Madras Museum plates of Jaṭilavarman state that the Pāṇḍya sovereign caused the excellent port of Viḷiṇṇam to be destroyed (Ibid. p. 133). Napier Museum stone epigraph (*Travancore Archaeological Series* Vol. I p. 158) also mentions it.
- 3 Tanjore inscriptions state that part of the revenues derived from Ceylon were assigned to the big temple of Rājārājēśvara at Tanjore. Ceylon itself was called Munmuḍi-Śōḷa-maṇḍalam after one of the surnames of Rājārāja I (Annual Report for 1913, part II. para 21) and an inscription of the king is also found in Ceylon.
- 4 It is recorded in a stone inscription that the army of the Chōḷa king Rājārāja I, numbering 900,000 men, pillaged the country of the Western Chalukyas, slaughtered ruthlessly even women, children and Brāhmanas and taking their girls to wife destroyed their caste.
- 5 The Late Rai Bahadur Venkayya surmised that the Bhīma killed by Rājārāja might be Aniyāṅka-Bhīma-Vimalāditya (*Annual Report on Madras Epigraphy* for 1906, p. 68).
- 6 Inscriptions of Rājārāja I are found in the Travancore State, which formed part of the Chēra country.
- 7 We cannot seek for much fact from this general statement which simply mentions some of the ancient territorial divisions of India. Gaṅga may refer to the Western Gaṅgas of Talakkāḍ: Kāliṅga included part of the circars and was situated to the south of the Suḥma and north of the Andhra. Vaṅga was to the south-east of Puṇḍra. Magadha is in South Bihar. The natives of Magadha are represented as closely related to the Vṛātyas in the Atharva-Vēda (XV). Āraṭṭa is stated in the Mahābhārata (Karna-Parva XLV) to comprise that part of India through which the five rivers flow after issuing from the mountain, that virtuous men should not spend there more than two days: it is mentioned along with Prasthala, Madra, Gandhāra, Kāśa, Vasati, Sindhu and Sauvīras whose people are said to be wicked; that Vāhikas dwell in this country that the low Brahmins of that territory do not either study the Vēdas or perform sacrifice. It has, therefore, to be located in West Punjab. Oḍḍa is the modern Orissa.
- 8 Verse 16 runs thus:—

நூதற்காய்ப்-  
பண்டு பகலொன்றிலீரொன்பது சுரமுங்-  
கொண்டு மலைநாடு கொண்டோனும்.

fire to Udagai.<sup>1</sup> Victory in the battle of Udagai is claimed for him in the *Kalingattupparani* also.<sup>2</sup> From the last authority and certain stone epigraphs we learn that this king was born in the asterism Satabhishaj.<sup>3</sup> The large Leyden plates record the achievement of the king by saying that he conquered Pāṇḍya, Tulu, Kēraḷa, Simhala, Satyāśraya and took possession of their forces and territories.<sup>4</sup> From the stone epigraphs of the king, which are found in large numbers, we learn that the earliest act of the king was the conquest of the Kēraḷa dominions to effect which he had to contend also against the Pāṇḍyas. Consequent on this circumstance, he assumed the surname Mummudi-Chōḷa i. e. 'the Chōḷa who wore the three crowns viz. of the Chēra, Chōḷa and the Pāṇḍya. Since two epigraphs of Rājarāja,<sup>5</sup> dated in the 4th year of reign mention him by this name, we have to conclude that this conquest of the two southern powers should have occurred in or prior to that year (A. D. 989). The earliest reference to the destruction of the ships at Kāndaḷūrśālai is, however, to be found in the epigraphs dated in the 8th year (A. D. 993) of the reign of the king. Rājarāja is referred to by the simple epithet 'Kāndaḷūr-śālai kalam-aṟutta-Rājakēsarivarman' up to the 13th year of reign (A. D. 998).<sup>6</sup> The fact of the omission of this achievement in earlier inscriptions than the 8th, suggests that it must have been effected in that year. If so, it must relate to an expedition against the Kēraḷa, different from the one which gave Rājarāja the surname Mummudi-Chōḷa already in the 4th year of reign (A. D. 989). Inscriptions of Rājarāja I have been found at Tirunandikkarai, Eraṇiel, Suchiṇḍiram, Cape Comorin and other places in the Travancore State, thus establishing his conquest of the Kēraḷa and Pāṇḍya countries. Some of these are dated in the 10th year of reign and mention the destruction of the ships at Kāndaḷūr. That Kāndaḷūr must be a place in the Malai-nāḍu has been

1 The late Mr. Venkayya surmised that Udagai must be a strong-hold of the Pāṇḍyas (*South-Indian Inscriptions*, Introduction p. 3). As Udiya means Chēra, it is not unlikely that Udagai was a place in the Kēraḷa country, for it is said that Rājarāja obtained a victory at Udagai after defeating the Udiyas.

2 Verse 24 (Canto VIII) of the *Kalingattupparani* runs as follows:

சுதைய நாள் விழாவுதியர் மண்டலந்  
தன்னில் வைத்தவன் தனியொர் மாவின்மே  
ஓதயபாது வொத்துதகை வென்ற கோ  
ஊருகை வாரணம் பலகவாந்ததும்.

3 See note 2 above and No. 274 the *Madras Epigraphical collection* for 1910. One of the Tirunandikkarai inscriptions states that Rājarāja I assigned the village of Muṭṭam with its name altered into Mummudiśōlanallūr, to the temple of Tirunandikkarai-Mahadēva, for conducting a festival on the day of Śadaiyam in the month of Aippaṣi which was the birth day of the Perumāḷ (i. e. king) (*Trav. Arch. Series*, Vol. I. p. 292). It is worthy of note that Tirunandikkarai is in the Kēraḷa country (the *Udiyarmandalam* of the *Kalingattupparani*).

4 Leyden grant has:

जित्वा स पाण्ड्यदुलुकेरलसिंहलेन्द्र-  
सत्याश्रयादिनृपतीश्रिजबाहुवीर्यात् ।  
आदाय तत्करितुरङ्गरत्नराष्ट्र-  
प्याशा दशापि यशसा धवलचिकार ॥

5 Nos. 283 and 265 of the *Madras Epigraphical collection* for 1906.

6 No. 538 of the collection for 1905.

surmised already.<sup>1</sup> And it has been suggested that the place must be the same as Trivandrum.<sup>2</sup> But it looks very likely that it is identical with the village of its very name in the Neyyattinkarai Taluk.<sup>3</sup> King Amarabhujāṅga should have been seized and the port of Viḷiṇam captured in either of the two occasions noted above. The second conquest of the Kēraḷa country should have been followed by the capture of several principalities such as Gaṅgapāḍi, Nuḷambapāḍi, Taḍigaipāḍi, Coorg, Kollam (Quilon), Koḍuṅgōlūr and Ceylon which were all effected before the 20th year of the king's rule (A. D. 1005).<sup>4</sup> The defeat of the Pāṇdyas and the Chēras gave Rājārāja immense wealth which consisted of pearls, coral, silver, ruby, diamond and other gems.<sup>5</sup> The conquest of Kollam, Kolladēsam and Koḍuṅgōlūr is specially mentioned in a Śēṇūr inscription of the 20th year<sup>6</sup> which also states that Rājārāja burnt Madura. After conquering the southern country Rājārāja changed the name of the Pāṇḍya country into Rājārāja-Pāṇḍināḍu and the whole south including the territory of the Kēraḷas appears to have been termed Rājārāja-Tēṇṇāḍu. During this period, the Pāṇdyas and Chēras seem to have been allied together against the Chōḷa, for it is stated in the Tanjore inscriptions that Rājārāja defeated the Chēra king and the Pāṇdyas in Malai-nāḍu and carried away their treasures.<sup>7</sup> Rājārāja's expedition against Satyāśraya was later than the events registered above. If the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu grant mentions the events of the reign of Rājārāja in chronological order, there appears to have been another invasion against the Chēras which must have taken place after he had defeated Satyāśraya. Says the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu grant<sup>8</sup>:—

सर्वक्षत्रवधव्रतप्रणयिना रामेण यन्निर्मितं  
राष्ट्रं शिष्टजनाभिराममतुलं दुर्गं महीध्रार्णवैः ।  
जित्वा तत्सकलावनीन्द्रमकुटश्रेणीलसच्छासन-  
स्सोऽभूत्सर्वधनुर्भृतां क्षितिभृतामानन्दसन्दोहकृत् ॥

With the capture of 12000 islands in the Indian ocean and the performance of the *tulābhāra* ceremony in the 29th year of reign (= A. D. 1013) when his queen Dantiśaktivitaṅki *alias* Lōkamahādēvī passed through a gold cow, the career of Rājārāja came to an end.

1 *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. II, Introduction p. 2.

2 *Travancore Archæological Series*, Vol. II. pp. 1f.

3 Kandaḷūr is 7 miles from Neyyattinkarai.

4 No. 394 of the *Madras Epigraphical Collection* for 1911.

5 See Nos. 59 and 91 of Vol. II. of the *South-Indian Inscriptions*.

6 See note 4 above.

7 See note 5 above.

8 *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. III. p. 398.

9 The latest regnal year found so far for Rājārāja is the 29th. These facts are recorded in a graph discovered by me at Tiruviśālūr (*Annual Report on Madras Epigraphy* f p. 65).

The achievements of Rājendra-Chōla I are next recorded in verses 68 to 72. Of these, verse 69, which is partially damaged, speaks of his conquests over the lords of the Kuntala country by which is meant the territory ruled over by the Western Chalukyas, Kadambas and their subordinate chieftains.<sup>1</sup> The Tamil historical introduction of the king probably refers to the same event when it says that he captured the countries of Idaiturai-nādu, Vanavāsi, Kollippākkai, and Maṇṇaikkadakkam, which have all been located in the Kanarese provinces.<sup>2</sup> The next item noticed is the seizure of the Kēraḷa king. At the time of effecting it, the Tiruvālaṅgādu plates report that the Chōla general struck a blow against the Pāṇḍya king, and as a result, the latter abandoned his country and took shelter in the Malaya mountains.<sup>3</sup> The kingless Pāṇḍya country was left under the protection of Rājendra-Chōla's son Chōla-Pāṇḍya i. e. Sundara-Chōla-Pāṇḍya.<sup>4</sup> The Kēraḷa country was then attacked and annihilated. This done, Sundara-Chōla-Pāṇḍya was left in charge of the entire south;<sup>5</sup> and Rājendra-Chōla proceeded against the Western Chalukya Jayasimha. The last mentioned conquest is indicated in the Kanyākumari inscription in verse 70 where it says that Rājendra-Chōla made Mānyakēṭa<sup>6</sup> the play ground of his army. Then followed the slaying of the chiefs of Kulūta and Utkala,<sup>7</sup> by the generals of the king. From the

- 1 The Kadamba king Mayūrasarman is said to have brought eighteen Brāhmanas from Ahichohatra and established them in the Kuntala country. This shows that during the days of Kadamba supremacy, this territorial division was included in their dominions. (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. X, p. 251-3). About the exact location of the Kuntala country, Mr. Rice notes that 'an inscription of the twelfth century A. D. at Badanikke describes Kuntala as the province governed by the Mauryas. This roughly speaking would be the country between the rivers Bhīma and Vēdavati, bounded on the west by the Ghats including Shimoga, Chitaldroog, Bellary, Dharwar, Bijapur and adjacent parts to the north in Bombay and the Nizam's dominions' *Mysore Gazetteer*, Vol. I, p. 289). Some of the Western Chalukya kings ruled over it (*South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. II, p. 230; and Vol. III, p. 140). Later on, it came under the sway of the Hoysalas and the Vijayanagara kings. In fact, Vijayanagara is stated to have been situated in the Kuntala-vishaya, a subdivision of the Karuṇa country (*South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. I, pp. 160 and 164); and Hosapattana which formed one of the boundaries of Ānegondi (*Ep. Carn.* Vol. XI, Sk. 136) and from which the earlier Vijayanagara king issued their grants, is stated to have been a place in the Hoysala territory (*Ep. Carn.* Vol. XI, Cd. 2). In the *Madhura-vijayam*, Gaṅgādēvi refers to Bukka I by the words कर्णाटलोकनयनोत्सवपूर्णचन्द्रः and कुन्तलभूमिपालः. (See Messrs. Srinivasa Sastri and Harihara Sastri's edition, pp. 9 and 13).
- 2 *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. IX, p. 230.
- 3 *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. III, p. 398, v. 91. Though the plates report that the Chōla general fought with the Pāṇḍya king, the *Madras Epigraphical Collection* (No. 363 of the *Madras Epigraphical Collection* for 1917) states that Rājendra-Chōla I constructed at Madura a huge palace 'by whose weight even the earth became unsteady' and anointed his son Chōla-Pāṇḍya as the Viceroy of the Pāṇḍya kingdom.
- 4 *Ep. Ind.* Vol. XI, p. 292ff. An inscription of Sundara-Chōla-Pāṇḍya is found at Ānaimalai, 6 miles from Madura.
- 5 *South-Indian Inscriptions* Vol. III, p. 399, v. 93. In the inscriptions of Sundara-Chōla-Pāṇḍya found at Mannārkoyil near Ambāsamudram two Chēra kings Rājarāja and Rājasimha figure as Chōla feudatories (*Ep. Ind.* XI. 292f.).
- 6 Manyakēṭa was the capital of the Rāshtrakūṭas (*Ep. Ind.* Vol. V. p. 63 and Vol. VI. p. 29). Later on it came under the sway of the Western Chalukyas.
- 7 In the Tamil introduction of the king's epigraphs, Utkala is called Oḍḍa-vishaya

Mahēndragiri pillar epigraph, it is learnt that Vimalāditya was the Kulūta chief overcome by the Chōla general whose name is given out to be Rājendra-śōla-Pallavaraiyan.<sup>1</sup> None of the sources for Chōla history hitherto available specifically attributed to Rājendra-Chōla conquest over Vēṅgī and Kaliṅga. Coupled with this, the statement of the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates that Rājendra-Chōla, desirous of conquest, reached the Gōdāvarī and bathed in its water, while his powerful general got the water of the Gaṅgā to his master, after defeating Mahīpāla,<sup>2</sup> gave room to doubt if the Chōla king's claim to have overrun the countries of northern India was anything more than a tour of pilgrimage.<sup>3</sup> As such, the information furnished in the Kanyākumari record that he destroyed the Kaliṅga king together with the chief of Viṁśa is of very great importance. In this connection, we have also to note that a stone epigraph of Enṇāyiram contains interesting information regarding the king's conquest of the northern region, of his stately return march with all the splendour of a victor, of his wedding the Gaṅgā and hence assuming the title Gaṅgaikoṇḍa-Chōla. The wording of the inscription indicates that the Chōla king was himself engaged in the expedition against the rulers of Northern India (*uttarāpatha*). The most important event of the reign, however, is the burning of Kaṭāha *i. e.* the conquest of Burma,<sup>4</sup> referred to in verse 72. The Chinese work *Sungshih* states *Shih-li-lo-ch'a-yin-to-lo-chu-lo i. e.* Rājendra-Chōla sent an embassy to China in A. D. 1033: and it is fairly certain that this embassy should have taken a sea route.<sup>6</sup> The Tamil historical introduction of the king gives a detailed account of his northern and southern expeditions from which it can be gathered that the king himself was engaged in the wars against the several powers, though particular feats might have been performed by individual generals.

Verse 73 of the Kanyākumari inscription settles the relationship that existed between Rājendra-Chōla I and Rājādhirāja I, Rājendradēva and Vīrarājendra. It states that, like unto the three fires of a sacrifice, there were born to Rājendra-Chōla I three sons of whom the first was Rājādhirāja I. The verses that follow further make it plain that Rājendradēva and Vīrarājendra were the younger brothers of this Rājādhirāja I. Though verse 73 is partially damaged, yet from the preserved portion of it, it is seen that Rājādhirāja I destroyed the city of Kal-yānapura before conquering its overlords. This information agrees with what is recorded of the king in the *Kaliṅgattupparaṇi* and the *Vikkiramaśōlaṇḍā*.

1 *Annual Report of the Director General of Archaeology in India for 1911-12*, p. 171.

2 *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. III. p. 400, v. 119.

3 *Annual Report of the Director General of Archaeology in India for 1911-12*, p. 171ff.

4 Madras G. O. No. 1172 Home (Education), dated 6th September 1918, p. 145.

5 This conquest and that of the countries on the Ganges are thus referred to in the *Kaliṅgattupparaṇi*:

களிறு கங்கை நீருண்ண மண்ணையிற்  
கலவி மண்ணெடுங் கலவு செம்பொனக்-  
குளிறு தெண்டரைக் குரை கடாரமுங்-  
கொண்டு மண்டலங் குடையுள் வைத்தனும்.

*Vikkiramaśōlaṇḍā* also states that the king sent an army and took possession of the Ganges river and Kaṭāram:

தண்டேவிக்-  
கங்கா நதியுங் கடாரமுங் கைக்கொண்டு-  
சிங்காதனத்திருந்த செமயியனும்.

6 *Historical Sketches*, p. 257.

From the former, we gather that he set up a pillar of victory at Kampili and defeated the king of Kalyāṇa.<sup>1</sup> Certain stone epigraphs substitute Vijayarājendra for Rājādhirāja I.<sup>2</sup> At Dārāsuram in the Tanjore district there are two fine stone images of *dvārapālas* with inscribed pedestals stating that Vijayarājendradēva *i. e.* Rājādhirāja I, brought them after his victorious fight at Kalyānapuram.<sup>3</sup> The *Vikkiramaśōḷaṇṭulā* speaks of him as the matchless hero who marched thrice against Kalyāṇi and defeated its king. His other achievements are subjugation of the Pāṇḍya kings Mānābharana, Vīrakēraḷa and Sundara-Pāṇḍya; defeat of the Vēṇāḍu king; destruction of the ships at Kāndaḷūr-śālai and the overcoming the three kings of the famous Irāmakuḍam: and the invasion of the island of Ceylon.<sup>4</sup>

From his stone inscriptions we learn that he had a few sons, an elder brother and a paternal uncle (*i. e.* father's younger brother).<sup>5</sup> It is not unlikely that the last mentioned royal relation is referred to in the records of Parakēsarivarman Rājendradēva when they state that that king conferred the title of Irumuḍi-śōḷaṇ on his father's younger brother, the powerful in war and named Gaṅgai-koṇḍa-śōḷaṇ.<sup>6</sup> This recipient of royal favours from Rājādhirāja I and his younger brother Rājendradēva must have been a younger brother of Rājendra-Chōḷa I.

The anointment of Rājādhirāja to the Chōḷa sovereignty having taken place in A. D. 1018 (between 15th March and 3rd December)<sup>7</sup> *i. e.* 6 years after his father's coronation which took place in A. D. 1012 (between 27th March and 7th July)<sup>8</sup> and the latter having ruled up to A. D. 1045, he could have become the real ruler of the Chōḷa dominions only in A. D. 1045<sup>9</sup> when his father died and his mother probably committed *satī* on the same day.<sup>10</sup> Stone inscriptions of Rājādhirāja I are all dated between his 26th and 36th years of reign.<sup>11</sup> Most of the events registered in the king's historical introduction must, therefore, have been accomplished already during the days of his father's rule.

1 Verse 26 (Canto. VIII) of the *Kalīṅgattupparani* has.

கம்பிலிச்சயத்தம்ப நட்டதும்  
கடியரண்கொள் கல்வியாணர் கட்டறக்  
கிம்புரிப்புணைக்கிரியுகைத்தவன்  
கிரிகளெட்டினும் புலி பொறித்ததும்.

and *Vikkiramaśōḷaṇṭulā* has

வங்கத்தை-  
முற்று முரண்டக்கி மும்மடிபோய்க் கல்யாணி  
செற்றதனியாண்மைச் சேவகனும்.

2 No. 14 of Madras Epigraphical collection for 1908.

3 No. 24 of the same collection for 1908.

4 *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. III. Part I. p. 56f.

5 *Ibid.* p. 53.

6 *Ibid.* p. 59 and 60.

7 *Ep. Ind.* Vol. IX. p. 218.

8 *Ibid.* p. 217.

9 His calculated dates range from the 5th to the 31st year of reign: but from other epigraphs it is seen that he ruled up to A. D. 1045.

10 *Annual Report on Madras Epigraphy* for 1916, p. 118.

11 No. 14 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1908.

Of Rājēndradēva, nothing more is said in our inscription than that he was the younger brother of Rājādhirāja and that he protected the country after the other had passed away (v. 74). He is reported to have fought the battle of Koppam, to have invaded Ceylon, to have decapitated king Vīraśalāmēgaṇ of Kalinga and to have taken the heroic sons of the king of Ceylon as prisoners. His reign extended from A. D. 1052 (28th May) to 12 years *i. e.* until A. D. 1063-4.<sup>1</sup> He is said to have conferred titles on four younger brothers and six sons. Their names and titles are given in the genealogical table appended below. He had two grandsons also.

Differing from the *Kaliṅgattupparaṇi* and *Vikkiramaśōḷaṇulā* which introduce immediately after Rājēndradēva, a king, who, according to the other work, caused to be made with gems the serpent couch of the god Raṅganātha at Śrīraṅgam,<sup>2</sup> the Kanyākumari inscription makes Vīrarājēndra, also called Vīra-Chōḷa and Karikāla-Chōḷa, assume the kingdom immediately after Rājēndradēva (vv. 75—76). His victory in the battle of Kūḍalsaṅgama is referred to and he is said to have exercised real sway over the Vēṇḍi and Kaliṅga countries, which had not been cared for by his brothers (v. 77), and to have settled 40,000 Brāhmaṇas, learned in the Vēdas, in the Chōḷa, Tuṇḍīra, Pāṇḍya, Gaṅgavāḍi and Kulūta countries. In the short prose portion that comes at the end, Vīrarājēndra is reported to have defeated Āhavamalla several times. In this connection, the contents of his Tamil inscriptions are worth noting. The Chālukyas are there reported to have been first defeated and driven out of Gaṅgavāḍi, the army despatched by them to Vēṇḍi destroyed; and lastly, at Kūḍalsaṅgama, the Chōḷa sovereign defeated them. Other kings overcome by Vīrarājēndra are those of Pottappi, Kēraḷa, Jananātha of Dhāra and Pāṇḍya.

Inscriptions of Vīrarājēndra also speak of some of his near relations. A certain Ālavandān was his elder brother. On him he conferred the title of Rājārāja. Perhaps he is identical with Mummdi-Chōḷa, referred to in the records of Rājēndradēva as an younger brother, on whom he bestowed the title of Chōḷa-Pāṇḍya. One of Vīrarājēndra's sons was Gaṅgaikoṇḍa-Chōḷa. He was made a Chōḷa-Pāṇḍya and given the governorship of the Pāṇḍya country. The other was Muḍikoṇḍa-Chōḷa, who was also known as Sundara-Chōḷa. Whether Adhirājēndra is identical with either of these two sons or was different from them, it is not possible to say.

Thus far we have indicated the line followed by the writer of the Kanyākumari *prasaśi* in tracing the mythical ancestry of the solar race and the history of the Chōḷas. And here we have to observe only a few peculiarities noticed in the engraving of this inscription. *Virāma* is marked in several places; omissions of letters occur frequently; indiscriminate use is made of hard consonants in place of the soft and *vice versa*; and *anusvāra* is made to take the place of the final *m* and *vice versa*. Another striking feature is the use of *sandhi* between the last word of the first half of a verse and the initial word of the next.

<sup>1</sup> *Ep. Ind.* Vol. VI. p. 23.

<sup>2</sup> The latter work has “பாடரவத் தென்னரங்க மேயாற்குப் பன்மனியாலாடரவப் பாய லமைத்தோ ளம்.” See verse 28 of Chap. VII of the *Kaliṅgattupparaṇi*.

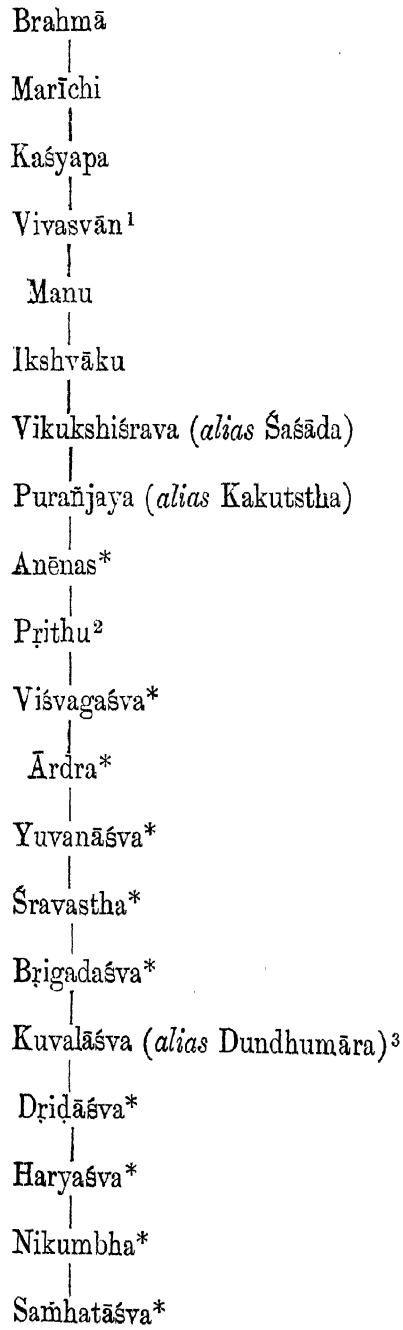
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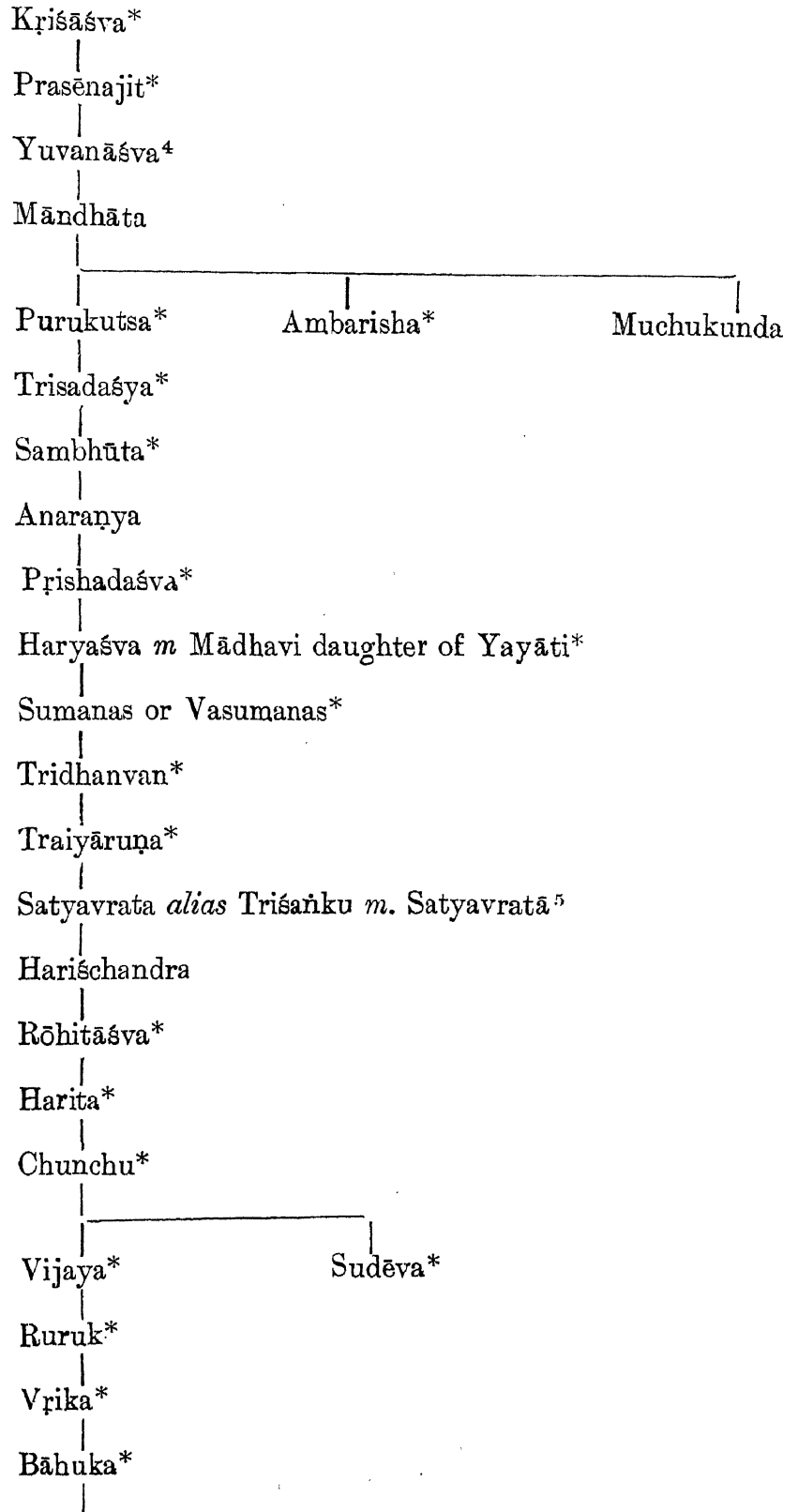
The object of the inscription is to register a gift made by the king, of lands situated in the villages of Narrirakkuḍi and Peruṅguḍi-Kīlkombu in Purattāya-nāḍu, a sub-division of Uttamaśōla-vaḷanāḍu, which was a district of Rājarāja-Paṇḍināḍu, in favour of the temple of Kanyāpīḍāriyār at Kumari in the same nāḍu.

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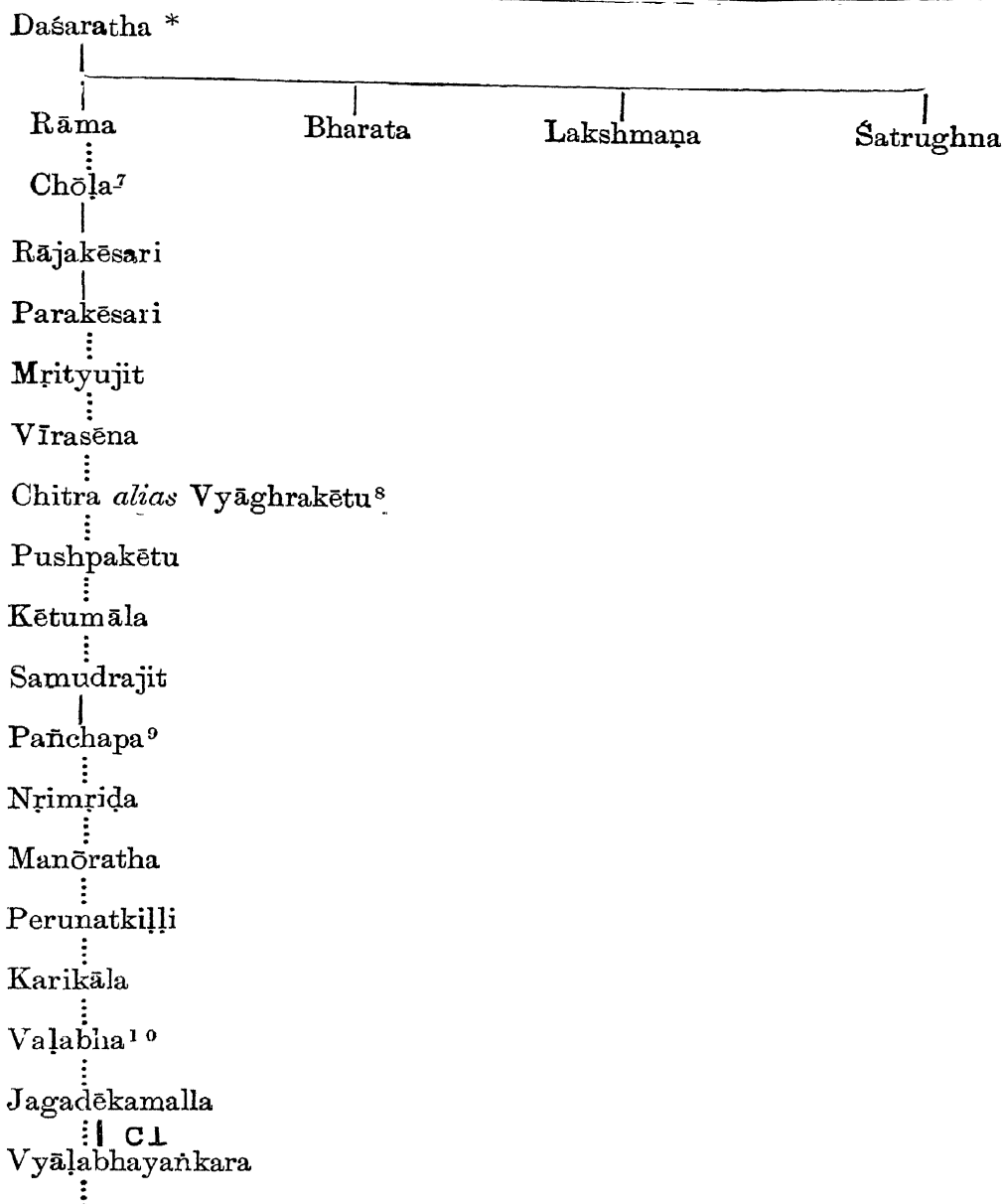


Pedigree of the Solar race (as followed in this inscription) and of the Chōlas.

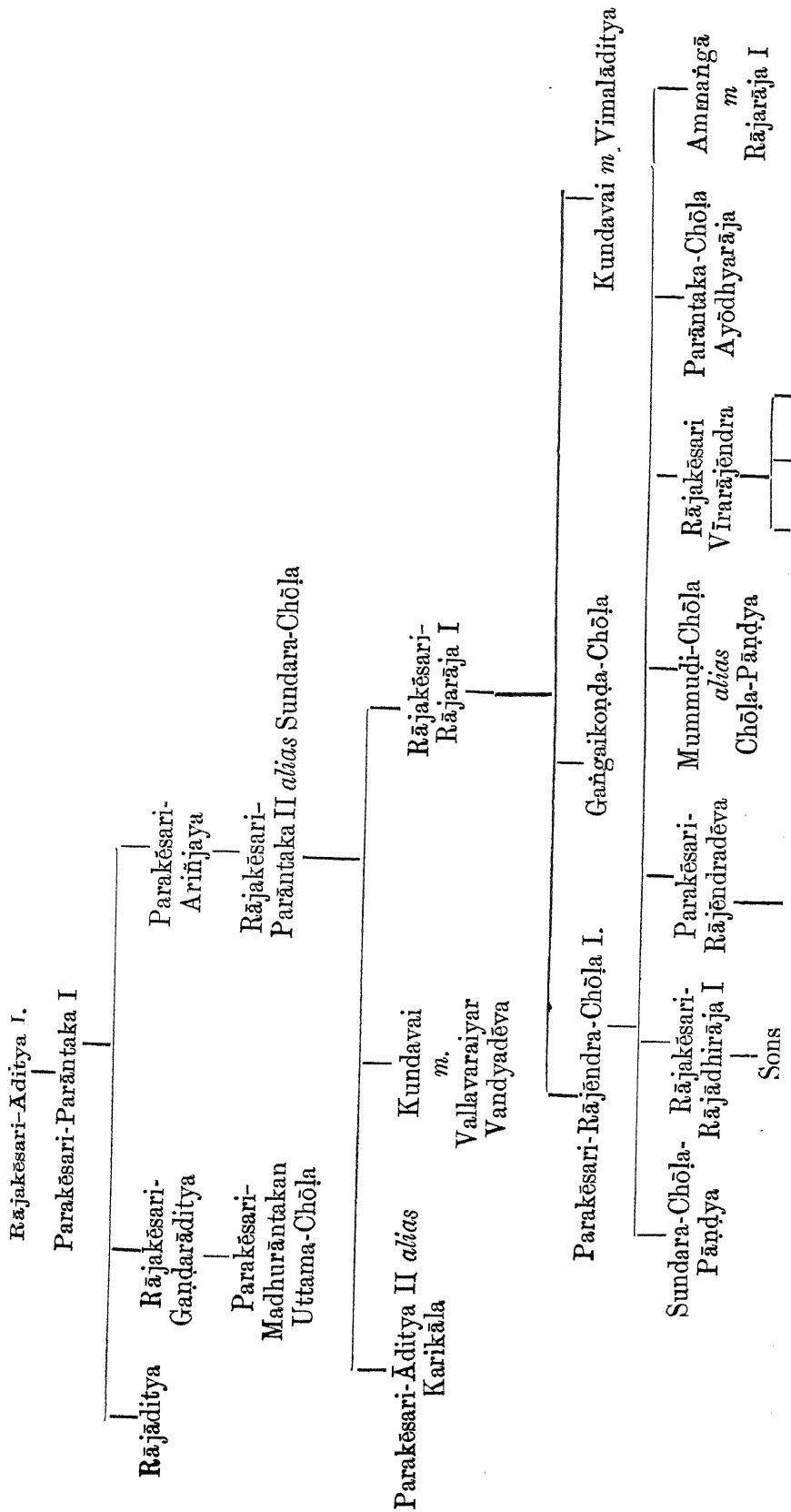




Sagara  
 |  
 Asamañjasa and others\*  
 |  
 Amśumān\*  
 |  
 Dilīpa\*  
 |  
 Bhagīratha  
 |  
 Śruta\*  
 |  
 Nābhāga\*  
 |  
 Ambarīsha\*  
 |  
 Sindhudvīpa\*  
 |  
 Ayutāśva\*  
 |  
 Rituparṇa  
 |  
 Sarvakāma\*  
 |  
 Sudāsa\*  
 |  
 Saudāsa *alias* Mitrasaha\*  
 |  
 Aśmaku\*  
 |  
 Mūlaka\*  
 |  
 Daśaratha\*  
 |  
 Ilvala\*  
 |  
 Viśvasaha\*  
 |  
 Dilīpa  
 |  
 Dīrghabāhu<sup>6</sup>  
 |  
 Raghu\*  
 |  
 Aja\*  
 |

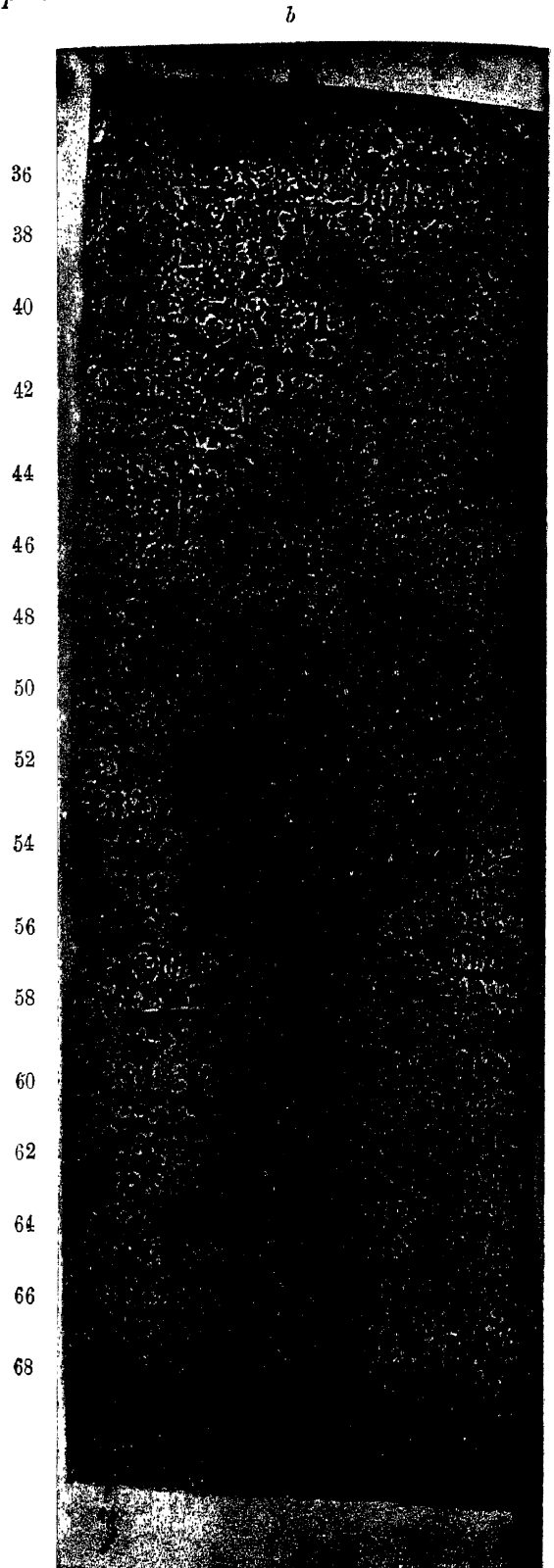
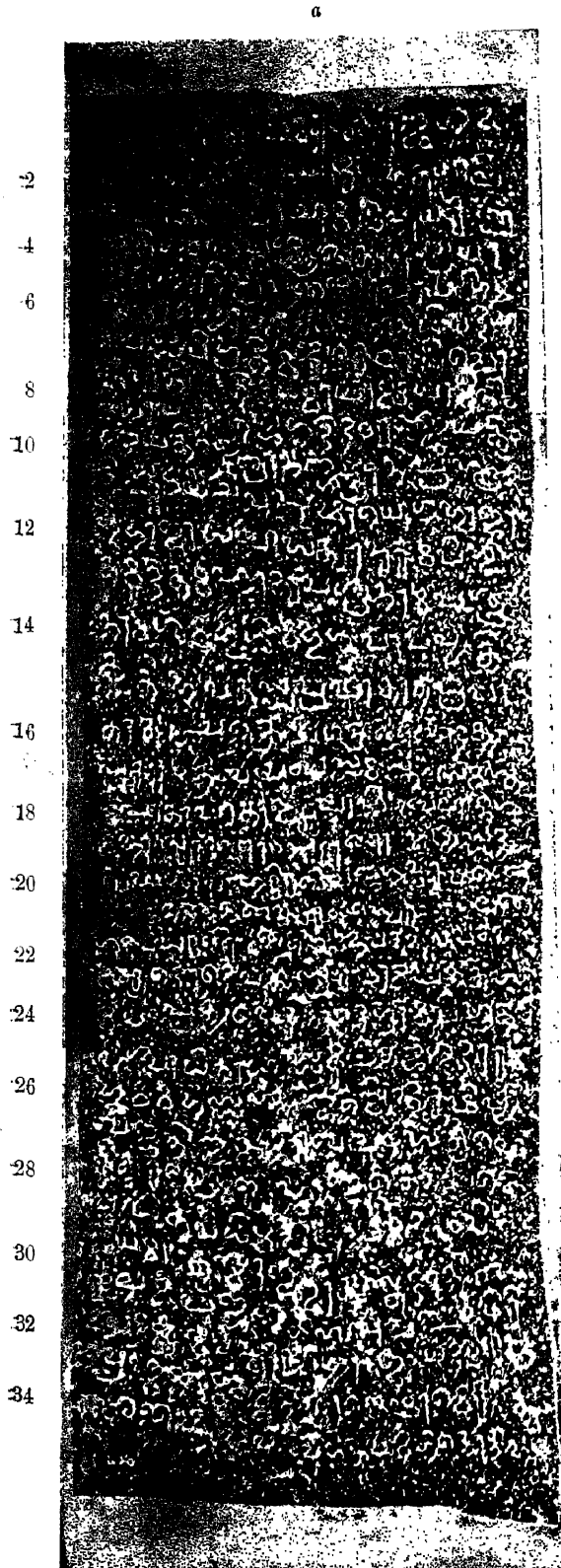


- 1 The Tiruvālaṅgāḍu grant begins with this name and mentions the successors up to Purañjaya as in the Kanyākumari inscription with the difference that Vikukshīrava is called Vikukshi.
- 2 According to the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates, Prithu was the son of Vēna who came in the family of Analapratāpa, a lineal descendant of Aryaman, the son of Kakshivat and grandson of Purañjaya *alias* Kakutstha.
- 3 Like the Kanyākumari inscription, the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates also omit the intervening names between Prithu and Kuvalāśva.
- 4 This name occurs in the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates.
- 5 Satyavrata is mentioned in the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plate which state that Uśinara came in his family, that Śibi was Uśinara's son, that Marutta was a descendant of Śibi, that Dushyanta came in Marutta's family and that Daushyanti was his son.
- 6 The Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates mention Dīrghabāhu but state that he was a lineal descendant of Pārthivachūḍāmaṇi, who was the son of Prithulāksha and grandson of Valabha.
- 7 Chōla is stated to be the son of Bharata and grandson of Daushyanti and great grandson of Dushyanta.
- 8 The Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates make him the son of Parakēsari and state that Chitrāśva and Chitradhanvan were his son and grandson and that Suraguru came in the family of the last.



(To face page 129.)

*First pillar.*



## Text.

*First pillar: first side.*

- 1 स्वस्ति श्री[ः ॥\*] यः कर्ता जगदु-
- 2 <sup>1</sup>त्भव[स्थि]तिलया[नु]त्भूतया<sup>2</sup> ली-
- 3 लया यो वाचामधिनायकश्च-
- 4 यति यं सर्वज्ञतैकाश्रया [1\*]
- 5 यत्<sup>3</sup>भक्तिप्रवणैरपायविष-
- 6 मस्तार्यो भवाम्भोनिधिर्देया-
- 7 त्<sup>4</sup>वस्स विभूतिमिन्दुशकलापीडो
- 8 भवानीपतिः ॥—[१\*]<sup>5</sup> मायामाया[मि]नी
- 9 यो वहति जगदिदं रक्षयन्तीं
- 10 जयन्तीं<sup>7</sup> ज्ञानाज्ञानप्रसू-
- 11 तिं<sup>8</sup>स्फुटरुचिवपुष्पा योगभाजा-
- 12 गभाजा [1\*] सत्वासत्वानुकम्पी हि-
- 13 तमुदितमहा[ता]पशूनां<sup>9</sup> पशू-
- 14 नाम्<sup>9</sup> शम्भुन<sup>10</sup>म्भुमपापव्यति-
- 15 कृति भवतस्सप्रपातात् प्रपा-
- 16 तात् ॥—[२\*]<sup>11</sup> चक्रे चक्रेण दैत्य-
- 17 प्रकरमतिबल यस्समस्त समस्त-
- 18 [म्] पाता पातालभूलाहि[त]बलिरानश-
- 19 म् भासुराणां सुराणां<sup>12</sup> [1\*] सद्यस्स द्य-
- 20 त्वघं [वो] हरिरखिलजगद्रक्षणे-

1 Read °दुःखव.

2 Read °नुदूतया

3 Read यद्भक्ति.

4 Read देयाद्भः

5 Metre: Śardūlavikrīḍita.

6 The *anusvara* mark is engraved twice, once at the end of this line and again at the beginning of the next.

7 The length of ना is entered on the top of न.

8 Read प्रसूति.

9 Read पशूनां.

10 Read शम्भु.

11 Metre: Sragdharā. This is also the metre of the verses 3 to 9.

12 Change the *anusvara* into final.

- 21 न क्षणेन स्वैरं स्वैरं[श]लेशै-<sup>1</sup>  
 22 [रिव ध]रणिगतैस्सम्भवत्भिर्भवत्भिः<sup>2</sup>  
 23 ॥—[३\*] आदौ देवस्सिमृक्षामुपनतस-  
 24 मयः प्रत्यवे[क्षा]<sup>3</sup>मदभ्राम् बिभ्रत्<sup>4</sup>  
 25 विश्वाधिनाथस्समु[चि]तजगदारम्-  
 26 भमम्भस्स[स]र्ज [1\*] तस्मिन्निक्षिप्य  
 27 बीजं निजमजमखिलं स त्रिलो-  
 28 कीकरण्डम् ब्रह्माण्डन्तेन [चक्रे]  
 29 व्याधित विधिमपि स्रष्टुमिष्टं वि-  
 30 धेयम्<sup>5</sup> ॥—[४\*] तस्माज्जातस्तदानीं स-  
 31 कलमपि जगत्सप्रपञ्चं विरि-  
 32 ञ्चः [कृत्वा] दुर्वारवीर्यानजनयदपरा[न्]  
 33 ब्रह्मणः कर्मनिष्ठा<sup>6</sup>न्तेषामेक[स्तु]-  
 34 शेषैरपि . . . . . वर्गभिद्योनिस-

*First pillar: second side.*

- 35 ७श्रीर्वि[ष्व]प्रोचिर्मरीचिस्त्रिभुवन-  
 36 (न) [भवनात्] सञ्चकासाञ्चकार  
 37 (र) ॥—[५\*] तस्मा[द्वि]स्मेरपत्मासन<sup>8</sup>नयन-  
 38 चयस्पष्टदृष्टोर्जितश्रीश्च-  
 39 यस्सम्पत्तिभाजां न्धुरि<sup>9</sup> गणितगु-  
 40 णः काश्यपः पश्यकोभूत् [1\*] अ-  
 41 न्योन्योन्मर्दनेन श्रियमिह दध-  
 42 तो यत्प्रसूतास्सुराद्या नि[र्व्या]ज-<sup>10</sup>  
 43 <sup>11</sup>निर्जयन्ति प्रचुरमुपचितानम्बु-

1 The *ai* symbols alone are at the end of this line; श is engraved at the commencement of the next line.

2 Read भवद्भिर्भवद्भिः.

3 Read प्रत्यपेक्षा.

4 Read बिभ्रद्.

5 The *z* sign of धे is at the end of the preceding line.

6 Read कर्मनिष्ठान् । तेषां.

7 Read श्रीर्विष्वप्रोचिर्मरीचिः.

8 Read पद्मासन.

9 Read धुरि.

10 Read निर्व्याजं.

11 Read निर्जयन्ति.



- 44 राशेस्तरंगान्<sup>1</sup> ॥—[६\*] तस्माज्जात-  
 45 स्तदानीं [स]मयकृतसम<sup>2</sup>स्वैः प्र-  
 46 भावैरुदारैर्विश्वत्राणप्रवी-  
 47 णैस्सततमतितरान्निर्जयन् [स्वां]<sup>3</sup>  
 48 विवस्वान् [१\*] निद्रामुद्राविभेदं प्रथ-  
 49 मम[नु]भवन्त्यन्मयूखाभिमर्शाद्वातु-  
 50 र्वक्राराविन्दैस्सह सकळगुरो-  
 51 स्स[ञ]प[ञ]श्चकाशे ॥—[७\*] यस्योदस्यत्<sup>4</sup>  
 52 भिरारादवतमसततिव्याततैरंशु<sup>5</sup>  
 53 जालैर्भास्वत्कार्तस्वराण्डम् (प्र)  
 54 प्रथममभिगळत्कालिमेवां<sup>6</sup>(म्)ब-  
 55 भासे [१\*] यत्बिम्बः<sup>7</sup> कर्णिकात्वन्निव<sup>8</sup>  
 56 हति किरणैः केसरैराहि-  
 57 तश्रीरुत्गाढैर्दिग्दलै<sup>9</sup>  
 58 रुप[र\*]चितरुचो व्योमपंके<sup>10</sup>  
 59 रुहस्य ॥—[८\*] एतस्याभूतनूजो  
 60 मनुरमलतनुर्भूभुजाम् बीजमाद्य<sup>11</sup>  
 61 येनैकान्तेन योगान्मुनिभिरभि-  
 62 हिता मानवीयं प्रजेति [१\*] लोका-  
 63 नामेकवन्द्यः प्रविदधदतुलं शर्म-

1 Read °स्तरङ्गान्.

2 Read समयकृतसमः.

3 We have perhaps to correct स्वां into स्वान्.

4 Read °दस्यद्भिः°

5 Read °ततिं व्याततैः°

6 Read कालिकेवा°

7 Read यद्विम्बः.

8 Read °त्वं निव°

9 Read °रुद्राढैर्दिग्द°

10 Read पङ्के.

11 Read °माद्यं.

- 64 <sup>1</sup>धर्मप्रपचैर्भास्वान् भास्वत्-  
 65 सुतत्वात् पितरमिह<sup>2</sup> सुतं यं प्र-  
 66 काशीचकार ॥—[९\*] तस्येक्ष्वाकुरभूद्यशो-  
 67 <sup>3</sup>भिरमलैर्दिक्ष्वाततैश्शोभितस्सू-  
 68 नु . . . . भूभृतां सुरगणैर्यत्की<sup>4</sup>-  
 69 [त्तिरुद्गी]यते[।\*] यस्यामित्रनराधिराजवि-

*Second pillar: first side.*

- 70 रहाजैत्रस्महस्सर्वतो [दृष्टा-  
 71 ति]प्रसरं व्यजेष्ट बलव[न्मि]त्र-  
 72 स्य तेजः परम् ॥—[१०\*]<sup>5</sup> तस्याभूतनयस्स-  
 73 मुन्नतनयः प्रेक्षी विकुक्षिश्रवो  
 74 रक्षामक्षतविक्रमस्समकरोत्  
 75 क्षमामण्डलस्यास्य यः[।\*] अन्योन्य-  
 76 प्रविमर्द्दनेन महती या पार्थिवै  
 77 लभ्यते तां [सू]ते श्रियमश्रमं क्षि-  
 78 [ति]भृतां यत्[पा]दयोरानति[:\*]॥—[११\*] पुत्रस्तस्य  
 79 पुरञ्जयस्स[मभवत् सं]ग्राममाजन्मुषां<sup>6</sup>  
 80 जेता [भू]मिभुजांजिगीषुरसुराञ्ज<sup>7</sup>  
 81 ज्ञे<sup>8</sup> स मान्यस्ततः ! ज[म्भ]रिं वृषभं वि-  
 82 धाय ककु[दे स्थूले]स्य<sup>9</sup>यस्संस्थित-  
 83 [स्तद्देवैराधिक]प्रमोदगतिताम्<sup>10</sup> प्राप्तः  
 84 ककुस्थाभिधाम् ॥—[१२\*] पृथुर्बभूवात्र कुले

1 Read धर्मप्रपचै°.

2 Correct मिह into मिव.

3 Read °मलैर्दि°.

4 Read गणैर्यत्की. The syllable र्य looks like त्य in the original.

5 Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita. This is also the metre of verses 11 and 12.

7 Delet the anusvāra.

6 Read जग्मुषां. The anusvāra is in the next line.

8 The e sign of ज्ञे is at the end of the preceding line. Read जन्ये.

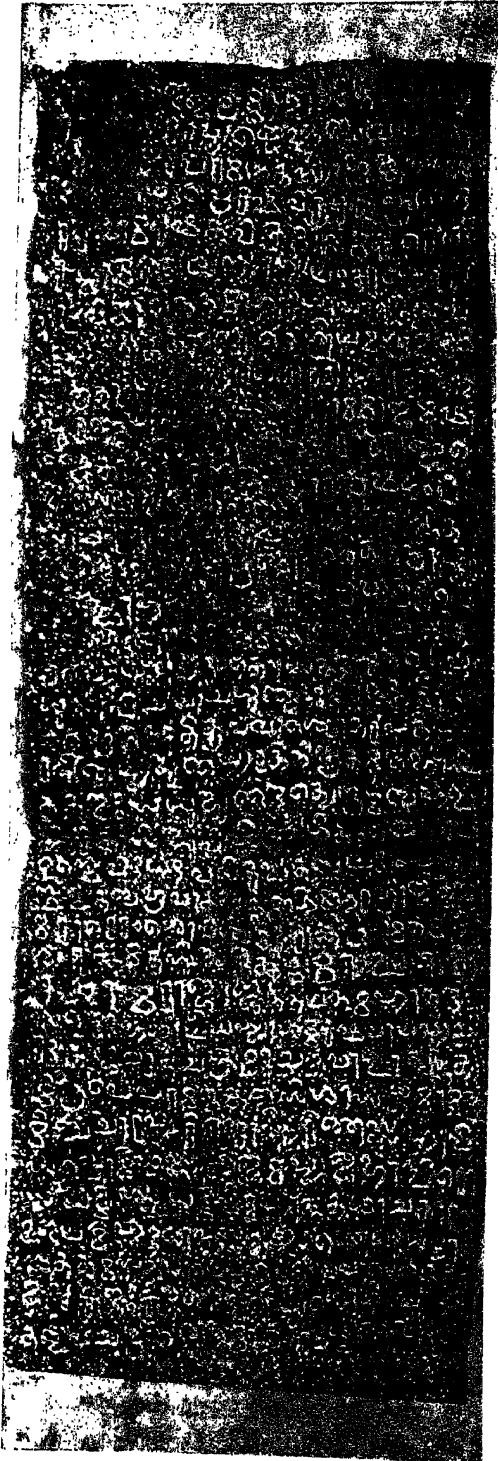
9 Read यत्सं°.

10 Read गदितां

*Second pillar.*

*a*

*b*



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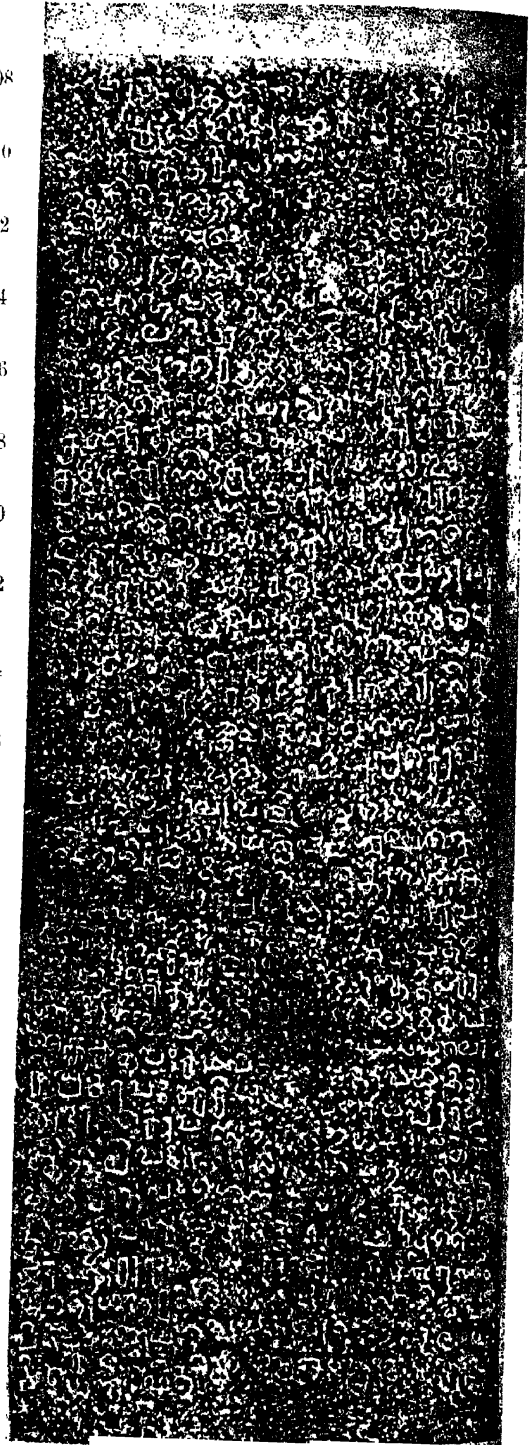
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144



- 85 [कुलाद्रि]णा समस्समस्तावनिपालवन्दितः [।\*]  
 86 विवे[क]धुस्तन्नृपतौ सनन्दधुन्न<sup>1</sup> वेष-  
 87 <sup>1</sup>धुन्नापि च याचधुञ्जनः<sup>2</sup> ॥—<sup>3</sup>[१३\*][अ]मु[ष्मि]न्व-  
 88 [शे]भून्म[ह]ति कुवलाश्वो नरपतिर्ह-  
 89 [रिद्धी]यैर्द्धुयैरतिनिभृतमुत्भासित<sup>4</sup>  
 90 तनुः[।\*] स धुन्धुन्दैत्येन्द्रम् बहल-  
 91 सिकतासिन्धुपिहितं हितं लोकाया-  
 92 स्मै विदधदवधीदुद्धतबलः ॥—<sup>5</sup>[१४\*]वशे-  
 93 स्मिन्नुत्बभूवात्भुत<sup>6</sup>महिमभरभ्राजितस्या<sup>7</sup>-  
 94 मरारेरंशो विश्वंभरार्तिप्रशमनमनि-  
 95 शं कर्तुमुत्सिद्धकीर्तिः[।\*] मान्थाता<sup>8</sup>  
 96 नाम राजा जननयनमहान्नन्द<sup>9</sup>  
 97 सं[दो]हजायी<sup>10</sup> यस्याधर्मक्षयाय व्यच-  
 98 रदतिजवात् चक्रमाचक्रवाळात् ॥—<sup>11</sup>[१५\*] त-  
 99 [स्मि]न्नृपे परमतेजसि शासतीमाम् भू-  
 100 मिञ्चचार हरिणा हरिणस्सहापि [।]  
 101 सर्वो मिथस्सहजमप्यजभाद्विरो-<sup>12</sup>  
 102 धन्धर्मस्त्वधर्मविरहान्न तथा चकार ॥—<sup>13</sup>[१६\*]  
 103 उदयमिह दंधानस्सत्पुणैरेधमान-<sup>14</sup>  
 104 सततमसदपाये वृद्धिमत्यन्ववाये[।\*][उद]जनि

1 Read °थुर्न.

2 Read थुर्जनः.

3 Metre: Vamśastha.

4 Read थुयै and °मुञ्जासित.

5 Metre: Sikharini.

6 Read °न्नुद्धभूवादुत.

7 The length of या in भ्राजितस्य is in the next line.

8 The length of ता is in the next line.

9 Read महानन्द.

10 Read दायी.

11 Metre: Bragdhara.

12 Read °जहा.

13 Metre: Vasantatilaka.

14 Read °स्सदपुणै.

- 105 मुचुकुन्दः कुन्दगौरैर्यशोभिः परिण-  
 106 त इव चन्द्रः शोभमानो मयूखैः ॥—<sup>1</sup>[१७\*]

*Second pillar: second side.*

- 107 . . . . .  
 108 . . . . .  
 109 . . . . .  
 110 . . . . .  
 111 . . . . .  
 112 . . . . नृप[स्तेषां स्व]र्गमतीव दुर्ग-  
 113 मकरोद्युद्धे ह[ता]नामपि ॥—<sup>2</sup>[१८\*] अस्मिन्व-<sup>3</sup>  
 114 शे भवदभिभवन्नोजसा राज-  
 115 वृन्दं लब्धानन्दस्समितिषु हरिश्च-  
 116 न्द्रनामा नरेन्द्रः[१\*] दित्सामेकान्दधदपि  
 117 नयन् कोशिकीयान्धनायां स्वं व्य-  
 118 क्रोणात्तृणमिव तथा यस्सुपुत्रं कळ-  
 119 त्रम् ॥—<sup>4</sup>[१९\*] आसीदब्रान्ववाये सगर इति[नृ]-  
 120 पस्तर्जितशेषभूपो येनार[ब्धे]-  
 121 पि कामं हयमखनिकरे त्रासितो  
 122 देवराजः[१\*] यत्पुत्राणाम्प्रभावा-  
 123 ल्लवणजलनिधौ सागरत्वं प्रप-  
 124 न्ने शेषाणां वारिधीनामपि [सक]-  
 125 . . . स्सागरत्वञ्चकार ॥—<sup>5</sup>[२०\*] आसीद-  
 126 त्र [भ]गी[र\*]थः क्षितिपतिर्वशे स्ववं-  
 127 <sup>6</sup>[शो]द्भवानुद्धर्तु कपिलप्रक्रोप-

1 Metre: Mālini.

2 Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

3 The *anusvara* is in the next line.

4 Metre: Mandākrānta.

5 Metre: Sragdharā.

6 The ॐ sign of शो is at the end of the preceding line.

- 128 [दह]नज्वालावलीभस्मितान् [।\*] स्व[स्सि]-  
 129 न्धुं वसुधान्नयन्त्रिपथगां<sup>1</sup> चक्रे  
 130 स भागीरथीं मर्त्यानप्यमृतान्व्यधात्  
 131 सुरसरित्वारि<sup>2</sup>प्रवाहास्पृशः ॥—<sup>3</sup>[२१\*] अन्व-  
 132 येत्र सुमहत्त्वतीर्णः[ः][स्स]र्वभूपतिगु-  
 133 णैः परिपूर्णः[।\*] [सज्ज]नस्तुति[विरा]-  
 134 जि[तव]र्णः[\*] क्षमामर[क्षद]खिलासृ[तु]प-  
 135 र्णः ॥—<sup>4</sup>[२२\*] इह समजनि भूपः सर्वलो-  
 136 कैकतीपः<sup>5</sup> क्षपि[तभुवनता]पश्शातिता-  
 137 रिप्रतापः[।\*] अरि[युवतिविला]पस्पारि-<sup>6</sup>  
 138 तोद्दामकोप[स्सततवि]जयि[चा][प\*]स्फीतकी-  
 139 र्त्तिर्दिलीपः<sup>7</sup> ॥—[२३\*]<sup>8</sup>अस्मि[ज्ञशच]तु[ष्ट]येन  
 140 भगवान् वंशेज[निष्ट] प्रभुः [क्लि]ष्टां  
 141 [वी]क्ष्य वसुन्धरामतिबलैर्द्धृष्टै-  
 142 <sup>9</sup>[र्म्माहाराक्षसैः] [।\*] [रामो लक्ष्म]णसं-  
 143 युतोथ भरतश्श[त्रुघ्न] युक्त[स्सुतद्वन्द्व]  
 144 विष्णुभुजायुगद्वयतुला[मू]र्जस्वलं य-  
 145 दयौ ॥—<sup>10</sup>[२४\*] पितरि त[नय] वृत्तं भ्रातृषु भ्रातृ-

*Third pillar: first side.*

- 146 वृत्तम्<sup>11</sup> युवतिषु पतिवृ[त्तम्]<sup>11</sup> शत्रवे<sup>12</sup>  
 147 शत्रुवृताम्<sup>11</sup> [।\*]मुनिषु तृपतिवृ[त्त]<sup>13</sup>

1 Read नयंस्त्रिपथगां.

2 Read द्वारि.

3 Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

4 Metre: Svāgatā.

5 Read दीपः.

6 Read स्फारितो. the z symbol of तो, which occurs in the next line, is entered in this line.

7 Read कीर्तिर्दिली.

8 Metre: Mālini.

9 Read: °र्द्धृष्टैर्महा°

10 Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

11 Read वृत्तं.

12 व is entered at the beginning of the next line.

13 Read तृपति.

- 148 म्]<sup>1</sup> बान्धवे बन्धुवृत्तं सकल[म-]  
 149 खिलनाधः<sup>2</sup> शिक्षवामासा<sup>3</sup> लोक[म्] ॥—<sup>4</sup>[२५\*]  
 150 न क्रोधेन जघान राक्ष[सप]तिं का-  
 151 <sup>5</sup>मेन न प्रेयसीं स प्रत्याहृतवान्म-  
 152 हीशचरितं कात्स्न्येन चक्रे परम् [।\*]  
 153 नो चेत्किन्तपसि स्थितं स म-  
 154 लये शूद्रं जघानासिना किं  
 155 वानत्ययकान्तिधृ . प[चि]तान्त[त्या\*]  
 156 ज सीतां [हु]त[म्] ॥—<sup>6</sup>[२६\*] सेतुं नेतुं क-  
 157 पिबलमसौ ब(ल)न्धयन्नेकम-  
 158 बधौ चक्रे वक्रेतरगुणनिधिर्धृ-<sup>7</sup>  
 159 र्भसे[तून]शेषान् [।\*] केतुं हेतुं वि-<sup>8</sup>  
 160 बुधविपदां व्यापदान्दानवीनां रामं  
 161 कामं कथयति जनस्सत्गुण[।\*]नान्निधानं<sup>9</sup> ॥—<sup>10</sup> [२७\*]  
 162 अस्मिन्वं[शे\*]<sup>11</sup> जनि विदलयन्नोजसा[रा]जबृ-  
 163 न्द[ञ्चो]ळो नाम क्षितिपतिरतिस्फीतराज-  
 164 न्यकालः [।\*] यस्याशे[षा]मव[नि]मवतो<sup>12</sup>  
 165 राजधानीमिव स्वां लीलोद्या-  
 166 <sup>13</sup>नैस्तुलनम[दधन्सर्वतः का]ननानि ॥—[२८\*]  
 167 विहरन् स हरप्रभः कदाचिन्मुनिवृन्दा-<sup>14</sup>

1 Read वृत्तं.

2 Read नाथः. The थ looks almost like श in the original.

3 Read शिक्षयामास.

4 Metre: Mālini.

5 The z symbol of *mī* is in the previous line.

6 Metre: Śardūlavikrīḍita.

7 Read निधिर्धर्म.

8 वि looks like पि.

9 Read सद्गुणानां निधानम्.

10 Metre: Mandākrānta. This is also the metre of verse 28.

11 The z sign alone of this letter is seen in the original.

12 The length of the letter तो is in the next line.

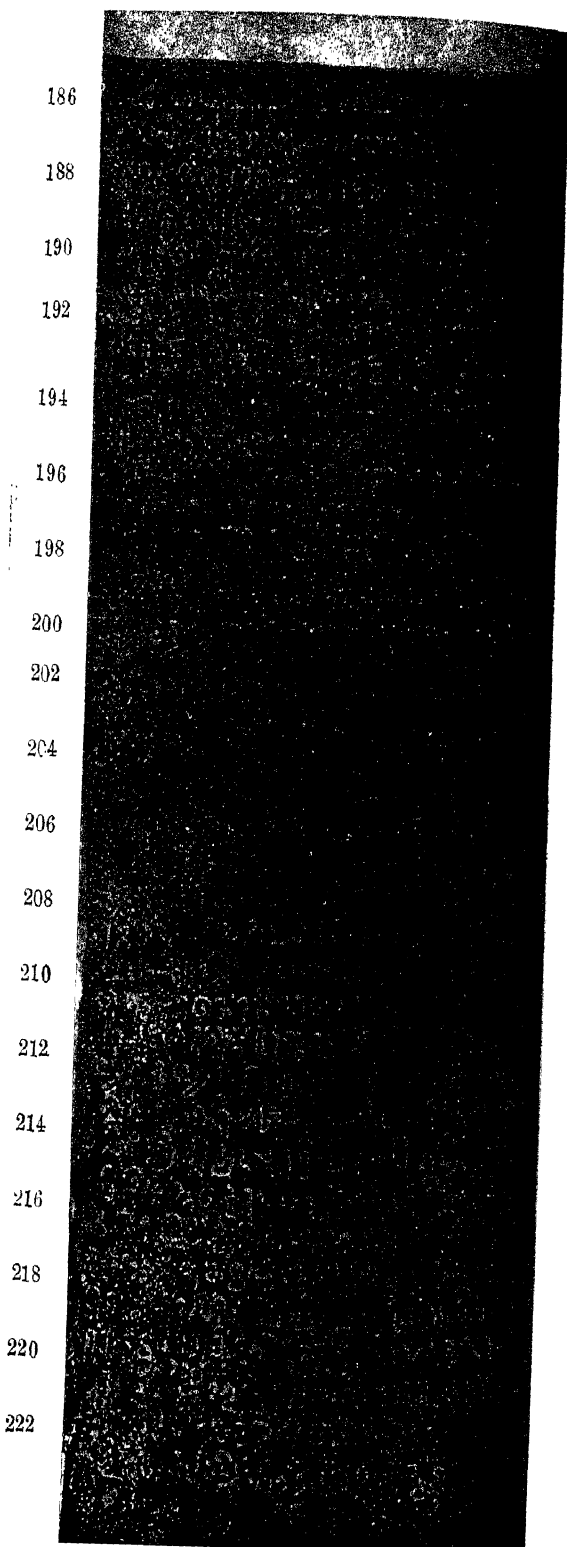
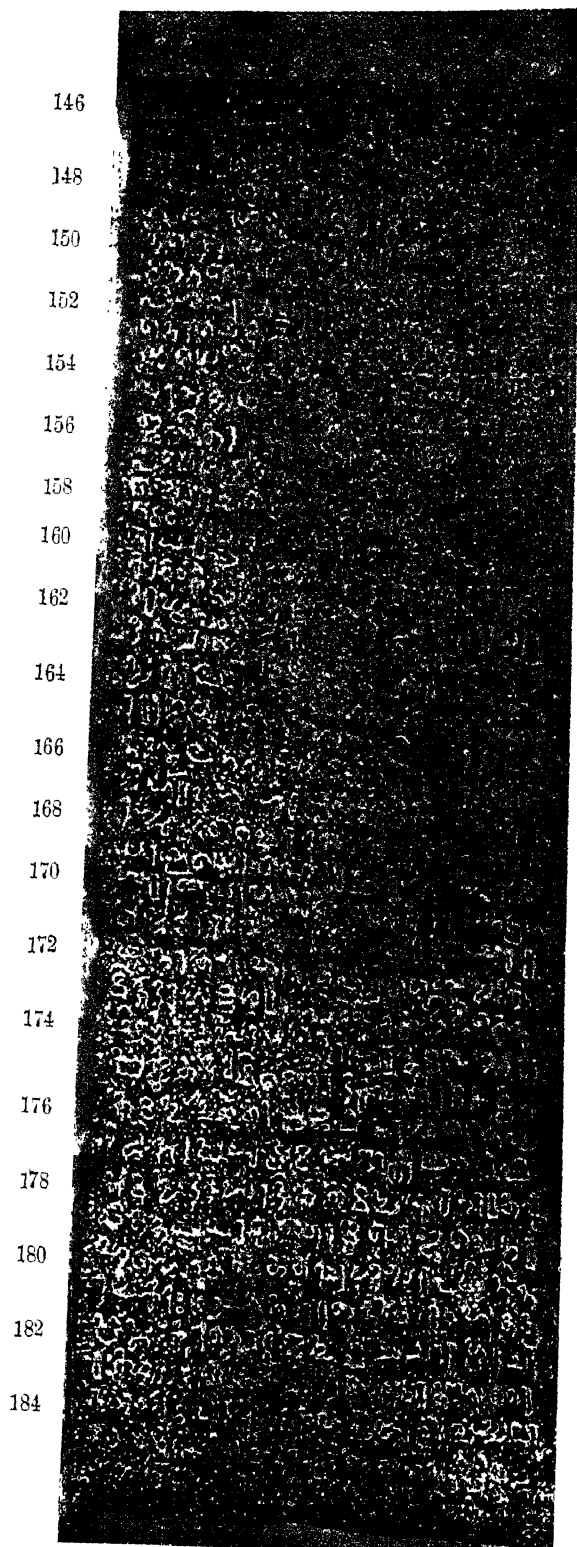
13 The ai symbol of *nai* is at the end of the preceding line.

14 The secondary &amp; symbol is engraved in the next line.

*Third pillar.*

a

b





- 168 ध्यु[षि]तेषु काननेषु [1\*] अनयद्विबु-  
 169 धाश्रयो विहारप्रतिलब्धाव-  
 170 सराणि वासरा[णि] ॥—<sup>1</sup>[२९\*] कदाचन मृग-  
 171 व्रजप्रमथनप्रभुलादरश्चचार<sup>2</sup>  
 172 विपिनान्तरेष्वनतिभूरिसैन्यः [क्ष]-  
 173 मी [1\*] तदा स मृगरूपिणा झटिति केन-  
 174 चिद्रक्षसा [हृतो] हरितमन्वगात्  
 175 प्रकृतिदक्षिणो दक्षिणाम् ॥—<sup>3</sup>[३०\*] मृग-  
 176 न्तमनु[ग]च्छता प्रजविना शनैर्वा<sup>4</sup>  
 177 जिना पृथुदुमसमाकुलं विपि-  
 178 नमन्यदासादित<sup>5</sup> [1\*] <sup>6</sup>न्तमन्वयुरनारतं प्र-  
 179 विततप्रयाणोन्मुखा जवेन र-  
 180 भसोत्पतत्पृथुवरूथिनीना-<sup>7</sup>  
 181 यकाः ॥—[३१\*] तं हत्वा रजनिचरं स तत्र-  
 182 भूपः कावेरीमनुविचचार भूरिचा-  
 183 [रः\*] क्षीराम्भोनिधिमथनात् सुरै-  
 184 र्वाप्तम् पीयूषं(म्)भुवि सलिलच्छला-  
 185 [द्वहन्तीम्] ॥—<sup>8</sup>[३२\*] तत्र[स्ना]त्वा . . . . . तर्हद्वजे-<sup>9</sup>

*Third pillar: second side.*

- 186 [भ्यो] नापश्यत्तान्वश्यचित्त-  
 187 स्तदानीम् [1\*] आर्यावर्त्ताद्विप्रवर्या-  
 188 [नेनका]नानीयाध्यावासयामा-

1. Metre: Aupachchhandasika.

2. Read प्रभुलादरश्चचार. The length of चा looks like र.

3. Metre: Prithivi. This is also the metre of verse 31.

4. The length of वा is in the next line.

5. Read सादितम्.

6. Read न् instead of न्त.

7. The length of चा is engraved at the commencement of the next line.

8. Metre: Praharshani.

9. Read द्विजे.

- 189 [स] तीरे ॥—<sup>1</sup>[३३] विपिनमखिलं चित्वा<sup>2</sup>  
 190 पूगैश्चकार वनम्महत्तदनु वि-  
 191 [दधे] धीरस्सारं सनागलताकुल-  
 192 [म्] [॥\*] उपवनचयैरन्यैः <sup>3</sup>कवेर-  
 193 [सुता] तदद्वयवसुमतीमेकच्छाया-  
 194 [मनेक]फलां व्यधात् ॥—<sup>4</sup>[३४\*] अमरस-  
 195 रि[ति स्ना]नम् भूयस्तपश्चरणञ्जना  
 196 [विद]धति तटे तस्याः कृच्छ्रात् त्रिविष्टप-  
 197 काम्यया [॥\*] इह विरचितं स्नानं [घोरं]  
 198 तपश्च सुरालयादपि शुभतरे व[ि-  
 199 से व\*]सं स्थिरीकुरुते सताम् ॥—[३५\*] अन्वशा-  
 200 [त्त]मनु राजकेसरी वासराधिप इवा-  
 201 [सम]द्युतिः [॥\*] चोळभूपतनयो नयात्<sup>5</sup>  
 202 [क्षो]णिमाजलधि तापिताहितः ॥—<sup>6</sup>[३६]  
 203 त[त्सुत]स्तु परकेसरी नृपो मत्स-  
 204 [री तम]निवार्यशासनः [॥\*] सत्सखः  
 205 . . . पालयन्मही . . तासुरनिका-  
 206 [मवि]क्रमः ॥—[३७\*] अस्मिन्वंशे मृत्युजिन्ना-  
 207 म राजा [मृ]त्योर्जेता पातितारातिव-  
 208 [र्गः ॥\*] जज्ञे यज्ञैराज्ञया च प्रका-<sup>7</sup>  
 209 म[न्देवांछत्रू]न्तोषयन्<sup>8</sup> भ्रेषय-  
 210 [श्च] ॥—<sup>9</sup>[३८\*] अस्मिन्वंशे वीरसेनाभिधा-  
 211 [नो जा]तो नीताशे[ष] लोकाहित-  
 212 [श्च] [॥\*] रेजे राजा तेजसा भानुतु-

1 Metre: Śālinī.

2 Read छित्वा.

3 Before this, a word with two long syllables is omitted.

4 Metre: Harinī. This is also the metre of the next verse.

5 Two syllables are missing after नयात् in the original.

6 Metre: Rathōddhata. This is also the metre of the next verse.

7 The length of का is at the commencement of the next line.

8 Read °छत्रून्तोषयन्.

9 Metre: Śālinī. This is also the metre of the next verse.

- 213 [ल्यः] कल्याणानाम्मन्दिरं सुन्दराङ्गः<sup>1</sup> ॥—[३९\*]  
 214 चि[त्रो]न्नाम<sup>2</sup> क्षितिपतिरभूत्तत्र वंशे-  
 215 धिकश्रीर्वित्रस्तारिप्रक[र]विनतिव्यक्त-  
 216 विच्छिन्नकोपः [1\*] वृत्रारातिर्ज्ज्ञेति<sup>3</sup> स-  
 217 मरे तर्जितो यस्य बाणैर्मित्री<sup>4</sup>  
 218 [भू]त[स्स]ततमभजद् व्याघ्रकेतुध्वजत्व-  
 219 [म्] ॥—<sup>5</sup>[४०\*] अवनिमखिलपारावारतीराभि-  
 220 रा[मे] विरतिमविरतश्रीश्शासितुन्नाशि-  
 221 [तारिः] [1\*] निजभुजबललीलाकृष्टराजन्य-  
 222 [लक्ष्मी]रिह समजनि वंशे भूपति[: पु\*]ष्प-  
 223 केतुः<sup>6</sup> ॥—<sup>7</sup>[४१\*] अस्मिन्वंशे केतुमालाभि-

*Fourth pillar: first side.*

- 224 धानो जातो राजा जातशम्[पाप्र]-  
 225 काशः [1\*] हत्वा सर्वक्षमाभृतां [केतु]-  
 226 मालां येनावासं केतुमालाभि-  
 227 धानम् ॥—<sup>8</sup>[४२\*] समुद्रजिन्नाम नरा[धिनराजो]-<sup>9</sup>  
 228 [भुव] . . . . . वीर्यः [1\*] पूर्वापरा-  
 229 म्भोनिधिमिश्रणेन [पण्ये]न . . .  
 230 शसुतां [स]लो[भः] ॥—<sup>10</sup>[४३\*] श्रीमत्यत्र कुले  
 231 बभूव महितश्रीः पञ्चपाख्यो नृ[पो]  
 232 निर्व्याजातिथिपूजनोर्ज्जितमना यक्षा<sup>11</sup>  
 233 न स पञ्चातिथीन् [1\*] विद्धा पञ्च[सि]रा-  
 234 स्स्वशोणितमसौ तैर्याचित[स्साद]-

1 Read सुन्दराङ्गः.

2 Read चित्रो नाम.

3 Read ज्ञेति.

4 Cancel one of the म's.

5 Metre: Mandākrāntā.

6 The ॐ of के is at the end of the preceding line.

7 Metre; Malinī.

8 Metre: Śālinī.

9 The letters in brackets are written over an erasure. The length of जा is engraved in the next line.

10 Metre: Upajāti.

11 The length of क्षा is in the next line.

- 235 १रं कोष्णन्तत् सकलानपाय[य\*]त यत्[स्व्या\*]तस्तु  
 236 [त\*]त् पञ्चपः ॥—<sup>2</sup> [४४\*] अभवन्विभ[वै]र्ज-<sup>3</sup>  
 237 यन्दिगीशानिह वंशे नृपतिस्सु[धां]शु-  
 238 कान्तः [१\*] नृमृडस्स मृडस्य सम्प्रसा[दाद]-  
 239 जयन्मृत्युमनत्ययप्रभावः ॥—<sup>4</sup> [४५\*] अत्रा[भूद]-  
 240 मलगुण[:\*] कुलेतुलश्रीस्तेज[स्वी स]-  
 241 मिति मनोरथाभिधानः [१\*] [यो हत्वा]  
 242 झटिमि<sup>5</sup> मनोरथानरीणाम् . .  
 243 नामकुरुत सत्फलात् बलेन ॥—<sup>6</sup> [४६\*]  
 244 एतस्मिन्परुनत्किलिप्रभृत[यो वं]-<sup>7</sup>  
 245 शे धराधीश्वरा भूयांसस्तु [जिता]-  
 246 मरेश्वरबलश्रीविक्रमा जज्ञिरे [१\*] ये-  
 247 षामाजलधिक्षमां<sup>8</sup> सपतनव्याप्तं<sup>9</sup>  
 248 यशोभिन्नुभैरात्रह्वाण्डमख-  
 249 ण्डदेशसमयं <sup>10</sup>विश्वन्जग[द्रा]जते ॥—<sup>11</sup> [४७\*]  
 250 अस्मिन्कुले कुलधराधरस[त्रि]-  
 251 काशः काशोपमान[<sup>12</sup>विततोरु]-  
 252 यशःप्रतानः [१\*] आसीत् क्षितीशतिल-  
 253 <sup>13</sup>कः करिकालनामा चोळस्समुत्थितरि-  
 254 पुक्षितिपालकालः ॥— <sup>14</sup>[४८\*] स कावेरी-

1 The *anusvāra* is a correction from a secondary *ā*.

2 Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

3 Read अभवद्विभवैर्ज.

4 Metre: Aupācchandaśika.

5 मि. has to be corrected into ति.

6 Metre: Praharshapi.

7 The *anusvāra* is engraved at the commencement of the next line.

8 Cancel the length of मां.

9 Read सतपनं व्याप्तं. The *anusvāra* is engraved in the next line.

10 Read विश्वन्ज.

11 Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

12 वि looks like सि in the original.

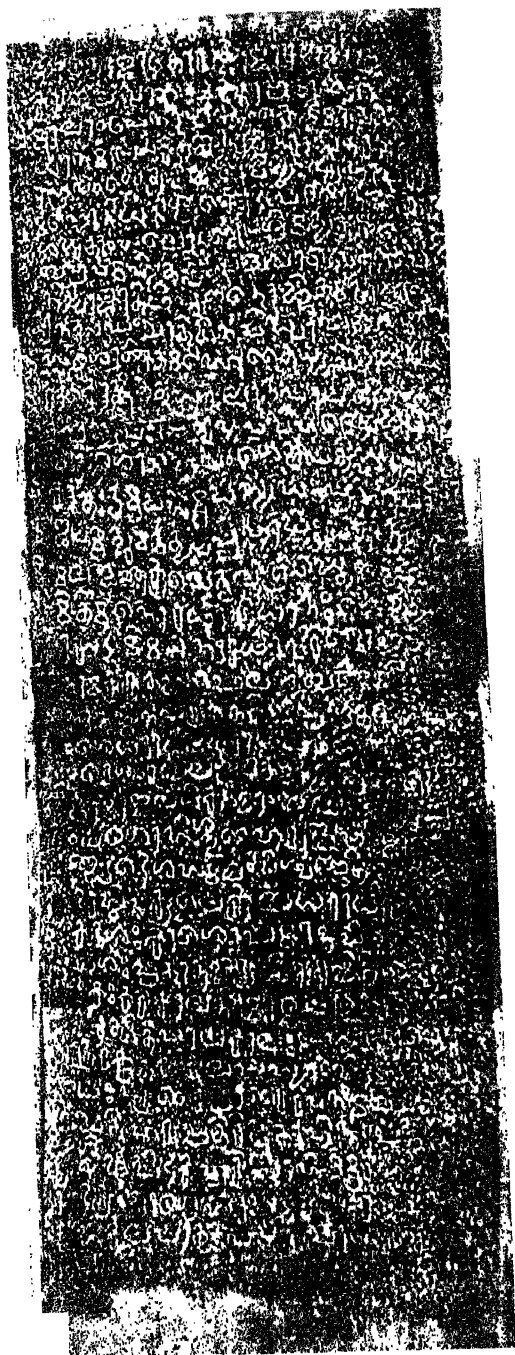
13 A *visarga* seems to have been engraved and cancelled at the commencement of this line.

14 Metre: Vasantatilaka.

*Fourth Pillar.*

a

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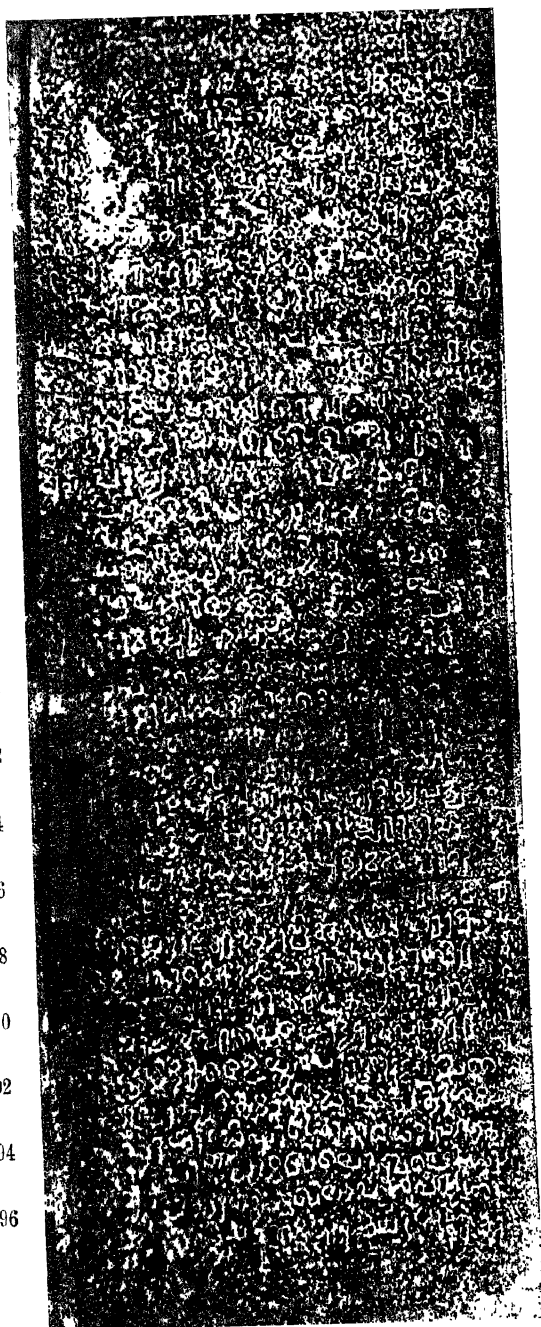
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- 255 नदूरीकृतसकलसस्यां विदधतीम् प-  
 256 यः <sup>1</sup>पूरैस्परैरवनिम[विनीतो]-  
 257 द्यति[हृरः [1\*] प्रतीरीभूताभिर्न्नरपति<sup>2</sup>[करा]-  
 258 श्लिष्टपिटकप्रकीर्णाभिर्मूर्तभि<sup>3</sup>[न्यरुण]-  
 259 दरुणाग्रेसरसमं<sup>4</sup> ॥—<sup>5</sup>[४९\*] [अस्मिन्कुले]  
 260 सकलपार्थिववन्द्यपादो जा[तो]-

*Fourth pillar: second side.*

- 261 मिजात[गुण]संहति . . . श्रीः [1\*]  
 262 [ऊर्ज]स्वलोत्भुत[निजाप्रतिमप्र-  
 263 [ताप]स्सन्तापितारिशिलभो<sup>6</sup> व-  
 264 [ळभो] महीशः ॥—<sup>7</sup>[५०\*] इहान्व[ये]-  
 265 [भूदम]रेशतुल्यः [प]रा[स्तवि]द्व-  
 266 ज्जनतापशल्यः [1\*] [सम]स्तराजा-<sup>8</sup>  
 267 न्तकभूरिभल्लः क्षमाधिना-  
 268 <sup>9</sup>थो जगदेकमल्लः ॥—<sup>10</sup>[५१\*] वंशे-  
 269 स्मिन्नरिराजवन्दि[त]पदद्वन्द्वारवि-  
 270 <sup>11</sup>न्दक्षमि राजा [व्याळ]भयङ्कर-<sup>12</sup>  
 271 स्समभवत् <sup>13</sup>सूनो रवेः [1\*] दो-  
 272 <sup>14</sup>र्दण्डाञ्चितखड्गखण्डितरि-  
 273 <sup>15</sup>पोर्यस्योर्जितश्रीजुषुः को-  
 274 पाग्निः<sup>16</sup> द्विषदङ्गनास्रसलि-

- 1 Read यः पूरैः स्फारैः
- 2 Cancel one of the र in न.
- 3 Read मूर्तभि instead of मूर्तभि.
- 4 Read समः.
- 5 Metre: Śikharinī.
- 6 Read शलभो.
- 7 Metre: Vasantatilaka.
- 8 The length of जा is in the next line.
- 9 The secondary e symbol alone is at the end of the preceding line.
- 10 Metre: Upēndravajrā.
- 11 Read विन्दः क्षमी.
- 12 Delete the *anusvāra*.
- 13 Three syllables appear to be omitted before सूनो.
- 14 Read दोर्दण्डाञ्चितखड्ग.
- 15 The secondary e of पो is at the end of the preceding line. Read जुषः.
- 16 Read °पाग्निर्द्विषद.

- 275 <sup>1</sup>लैस्सिक्तः परं शाम्यति ॥—<sup>2</sup> [५२\*] अन्व  
 276 <sup>3</sup>येत्र विजयालयनामा सम्ब-  
 277 भूव सकलक्षिति[न]ायः [१\*] यत्प-  
 278 दाम्बुरुह[युग]ममजसं शेखरीकृ-  
 279 तमशेषमहीपैः[ः] ॥—<sup>4</sup> [५३\*] निवेश-  
 280 [या]मास स चोळदेशे नवीनता-<sup>5</sup>  
 281 शेषगुणप्रवृद्धा<sup>6</sup> [१\*] कञ्जास-  
 282 नाद्यरमैरैः प्र[गी]तां तञ्चापु-  
 283 रीन्नाम पुरीन्नेरे[न्द्र]ः ॥—<sup>7</sup> [५४\*] आदित्यवर्मा-<sup>8</sup>  
 284 भवदस्य पुत्रः कोदण्डरामाभि-  
 285 धया प्रसिद्धः [१\*] उत्पुत्य<sup>9</sup> मत्तद्विरदे-  
 286 <sup>10</sup>[षु] संस्थञ्जघान [यः] पल्लवराजमा-<sup>11</sup>  
 287 जौ ॥— [५५\*] अस्याभूत्तनयः पराक्र-  
 288 मवतामेकाधिपः क्षमाभुजां वीर-  
 289 श्रीनि[ल]यः परान्तक इति ख्यातः क्ष-  
 290 मा[धी]श्वरः [१\*] वेलोद्यानविहारि-  
 291 [भि]र्मदकळैर्यद्वारणाधीश्व-  
 292 <sup>12</sup>रैर्वास्यन्ते मदसिन्धुभिः प्रतिदिशम्  
 293 पाथांसि पाथोनिधेः ॥—<sup>13</sup> [५६\*] हत्वा<sup>14</sup>  
 294 तु पाण्ड्यमखिलेन बलेन सा-

1 The ai symbols of लै are engraved at the end of the preceding line.

2 Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

The ३ symbol of ये is in the preceding line.

4 Metre: Svāgata.

5 The length of ता is the next line.

6 Change the anusvara into म्.

7 Metre: Upajāti. This is also the metre of the next verse.

8 The letter मा looks like त्वा.

9 Read उत्पुत्य.

10 षु must be corrected into न्द्र.

11 The length of मा is in the next line.

12 The ai symbols are at the end of the preceding line.

13 Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

14 The length of त्वा is engraved in the next line.

- 295 कं हत्वा तदीयमखिलं वसु वीर्यशा-  
 296 [ली ।\*] भस्मीचकार मधुरां यदधःकृता-  
*Fifth pillar: first side.*  
 297 <sup>1</sup>रिल्लेभे तत[स्स] मधुरान्त-  
 298 कनामधेयम् ॥—<sup>2</sup>[५७\*] यज्जिगाय  
 299 विजयोपमद्युतिः कृष्णराजमजि-  
 300 तन्नराधिपैः [।\*] भूरिविक्रमविव-  
 301 द्धितद्युतिर्वीरचोळ<sup>3</sup> इति ते-  
 302 न कीर्त्यते ॥—<sup>4</sup>[५८\*] यत्तीणैर्ज्ज<sup>5</sup>-  
 303 लनिधिमुद्धतैर्वलौ-  
 304 <sup>6</sup>घैस्संयत्तान् समिति जघान  
 305 सिंहलेशान् [।\*] तत् सर्व्वत्थिति<sup>7</sup>-  
 306 पतिवन्द्यमानपादस्सोन्वर्था<sup>8</sup>-  
 307 मभजत सिंहळान्तकाख्या[।\*]म् ॥—<sup>9</sup>[५९\*]  
 308 द्धष्टान्तः कोस्य राजस्सकल[गु]-  
 309 णनिधे[इशगनुयात्<sup>10</sup>] कोस्य [वक्तु]-  
 310 म् भूयिष्ठाग्घ्यान्<sup>11</sup> गुणौघा . . . <sup>12</sup>  
 311 <sup>13</sup>शमितिरिपोर्व्विक्रमैकास्पदस्य [।\*]  
 312 यो विद्वद्विप्रभोग्याननुपम-  
 313 विभवान्वीरनारायणाद्या[नत्य]-  
 314 ग्र्यानग्रहारान्व्यधित [विधि]रिव स्व-  
 315 र्गमस्तारिवर्गः ॥—<sup>14</sup>[६०\*] अमुष्य तन-

1 Read °रिल्लेभे.

2 Metre: Vasantatilaka.

3 Read तिर्वी.

4 Metre: Rathoddhata.

5 Read यत्तीणैर्ज्ज°

6 The secondary ai symbols are engraved at the end of the previous line.

7 Read सर्व्वक्षिति.

8 The length of र्था is in the next line.

9 Metre: Praharshani.

10 Read वनुयात्.

11 Read भूयःष्ठाग्घ्यान्.

12 This gap may be filled up with the syllables न्युधि.

13 Read शमितिरिपोर्व्वि.

14 Metre: Sragdhara.



- 316 <sup>1</sup>यो भवद्विभुरिन्दमाख्यो नृपः<sup>2</sup>  
 317 क्षपाकरसमद्युतिः त्वपित<sup>3</sup>-  
 318 <sup>4</sup>वैरिपक्षोत्करः [I\*] यदीयभुज-  
 319 विक्रमश्रवणसंभवत्साध्व-  
 320 सैर्नृपैरव[नि]भृत् गुहा<sup>5</sup>-  
 321 गृहनिवासिभिः[\*] स्थीयते ॥—<sup>6</sup> [६१\*] अ[य]  
 322 कृ<sup>7</sup> राज्ञः[\*] स्वैरमाज्ञाविधे[या]-  
 323 न्व्यधित विधिसमानस्सम्पदं स-  
 324 ज्जनानाम् [I\*] अतनुत नुतवीर्यो [व्या]-  
 325 पदं शात्रवाणामतुलयदतुल-  
 326 श्रीश्चन्द्रकान्ति स्वकान्त्याः ॥—<sup>8</sup> [६२\*] अस्य  
 327 सूनुरभ[व\*]त् परान्तकस्सन्ततक्षपि-  
 328 तवैरिसन्ततिः [I\*] चिन्तयन्यदुदयं स-  
 329 साध्वसः प्राण्ड्यभूपतिरलंघय-<sup>9</sup>  
 330 त् गिरि<sup>10</sup> ॥—<sup>11</sup> [६३\*] चकार कारासु रिपूनशे-  
 331 <sup>12</sup>धाम्स्ततार भूरीन्समरामबुराशीन् [I\*]  
 332 जहार तापं बुधसंहतीनान्त[ता]-  
 333 न सन्तापमसज्जना[ना]म् ॥—<sup>13</sup> [६४\*] अखिल  
 334 गुणनिधानात् <sup>14</sup>भूमिपालादमुष्मा-

*Fifth pillar: second side.*

- 335 दुदजनि नरनाथो राजराजाभि-

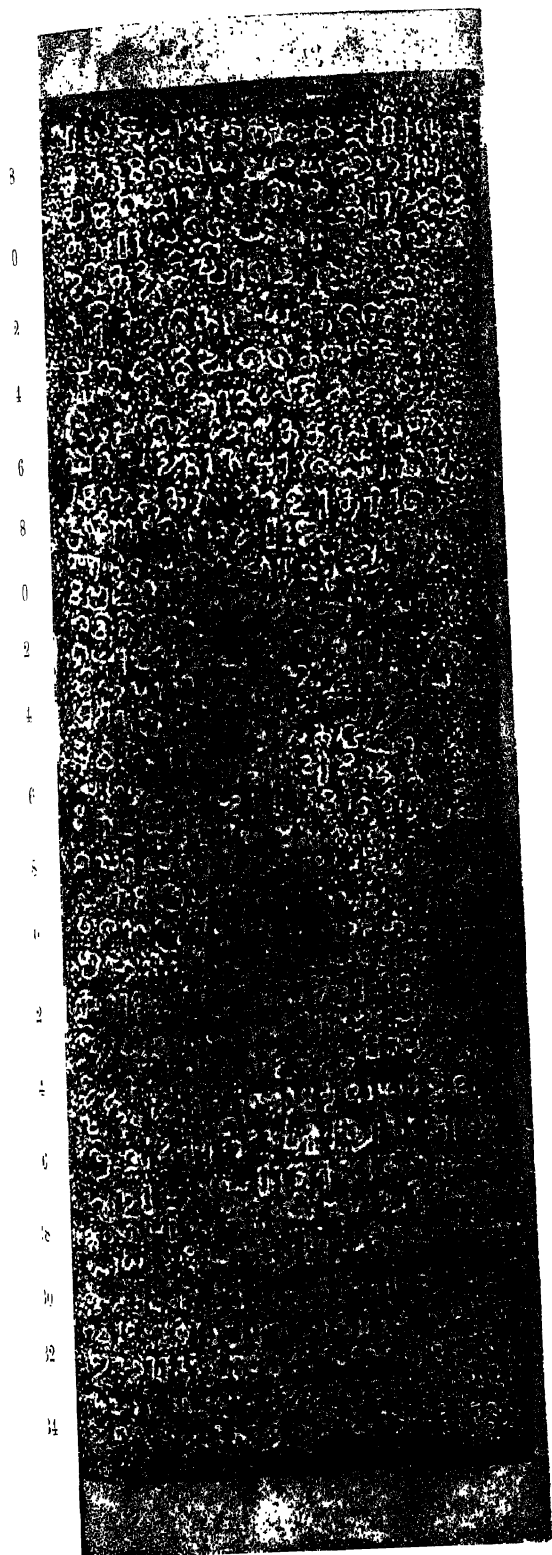
- 1 The ॐ sign of यो is in the preceding line.
- 2 The *visarga* is in the next line.
- 3 Read क्षपित.
- 4 The *ai* symbols are in the previous line.
- 5 Read भृद्गुहा.
- 6 Metre: Prithvī.
- 7 Instead of कृ, मकृत च is required.
- 8 Metre: Mālinī.
- 9 Read अलङ्घ्य.
- 10 Read गिरिम्.
- 1 Metre: Rathōddhata.
- 2 Change स् into an *anusvara*.
- 3 Metre: Upendrayana.
- 4 Read धामनाम्.

(To face page 143.)

*Fifth pillar.*

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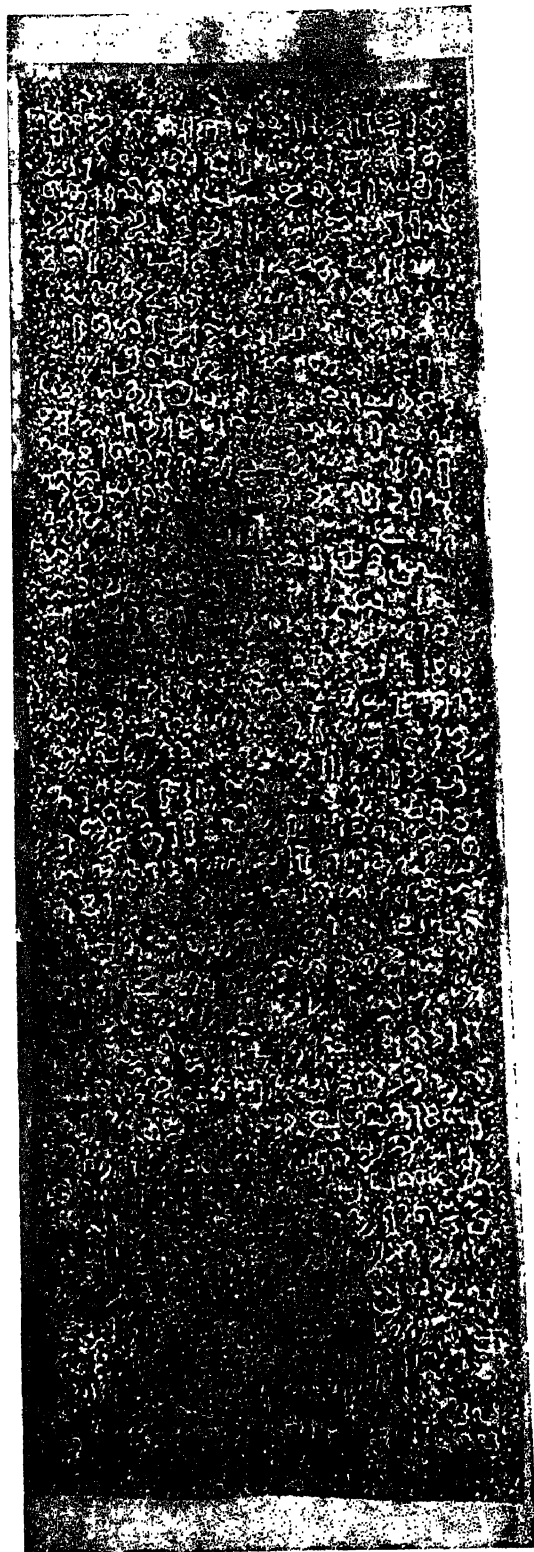
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- 336 धानः [I\*] . . . रुचिरदेहः कान्त-  
 337 <sup>1</sup>[ने]त्रारवि[न्दो] [धनद इति] परं [यत्रा]-<sup>2</sup>  
 338 जराजेन तुल्यः ॥—<sup>3</sup>[६५\*] सज्जहार स-  
 339 मरे स पार्थिवानुज्जहार विप-  
 340 दस्स भूतळात्<sup>4</sup> [I\*] आजहार च मखान-  
 341 <sup>5</sup>नेकशो व्याजहार [च] [स\*] सूनृत....त ॥—<sup>6</sup>[६६\*]  
 342 सत्याश्रये स्थिर[त]रे बत राजरा-  
 343 जे सत्याश्रयः [किल] पलायत मन्द-  
 344 <sup>7</sup>बुद्धिर्नत्या जय[न्ति] स[भ]या रिपव-  
 345 स्तमाजौ न त्याजयत्ययमसूनरि-  
 346 भिशिश्रयस्तैः ॥—<sup>8</sup>[६७\*] तस्य सूनुर[नत<sup>9</sup>]-  
 347 स्य शासिता पाकशासन इवारि-  
 348 शासनः [I\*] <sup>10</sup>शंवरारि[रु\*]चिराकृतिर्नृप-  
 449 स्सम्ब[भू]व मधुरा[न्त]काभिधः ॥—<sup>11</sup>[६८\*]  
 350 अजयदजितवीर्य<sup>12</sup>[रूप]सौन्दर्यशाली  
 351 विजय इव स[मस्तान्] कुन्त[ळानामधी]-  
 352 शान् [I\*] अहरत स [किरीटं] क्षत्रिया[णान्नि]-  
 353 हन्तुः प्रभलभि[हलरा]ज<sup>13</sup> जामदग्न्य-  
 354 स्य वीर्यो[त्] ॥—<sup>14</sup>[६९\*] जहार हारन्तुहि-  
 355 नांशुका[न्ति] <sup>7</sup>शतक्रतोर्विक्रम

1 The e sign alone of ने is seen.

2 The syllables यत्रा must be corrected into योरा.

3 Metre: Malini.

4 Read भूतळात्.

5 The e sign of ने is in the preceding line.

6 Metre: Rathōddhata.

7 Read बुद्धिः । न.

8 Metre: Vasantatilaka.

9 The last letter is engraved below the line.

10 Read शम्बरारि.

11 Metre: Rathōddhata.

12 Read वीर्यो.

13 Read राजाज्जाम.

14 Metre: Malini.

- 356 निर्जितारि[ः] [।\*] <sup>1</sup>विहारभूमिं निज-  
 357 <sup>2</sup>सैनिकानां स चाकरोत् संय-  
 358 ति मान्यकेटम् ॥—<sup>3</sup>[७०\*] स्वसेनाधीशा-  
 359 नप्रतिहतकुलूतोत्कलप(ति)-  
 360 तिः कलिगान्विशेन्द्रैस्स[ह]  
 361 बह्ववीर्यान्विदलयन् [।\*] स [गंगा]  
 362 <sup>4</sup>मुतर्ज्जन्निजकरिघटापाति[त]तटां  
 363 घटैर्ज्जहे<sup>5</sup> भूभृन्मकुटनिहि-  
 364 <sup>6</sup>तैरुद्धृतज[ला]म् ॥—<sup>7</sup>[७१\*] उलंघिताम्बु-  
 365 धिमिरु[द्ध]तब[हु]वीर्यैर्नि[र्द्धू]त-  
 366 [वैरि]नरनाथ[बल]प्रप[ञ्चै]-  
 367 <sup>8</sup>स्सै[न्यैः\*] कटाहमद[हयमन्यै]<sup>9</sup> राजेन्द्र-  
 368 चोळनृप[तेः किमसा]ध्यमस्य ॥—<sup>10</sup>[७२\*]  
 369 [तस्या] संस्तनया[स्त्र]यस्त्रय<sup>11</sup> इव  
 370 ख्याताः [क्रतोरमय]स्तेषान्नु प्र-  
 371 थमः क्षि[तीशति]लको रा[जा]धि[रा]-  
 372 जो नृपः [।\*] [यः]कल्याण[पु]र[न्द]दाह नृप-  
 373 ती[न्निर्जित्य] [तन्नाय]कानादायाहव

*Sixth pillar: first side.*

- 374 मल्ल . . . . .  
 375 . . . . ॥—<sup>12</sup>[७३\*] त[स्मि]-  
 376 न् गते त्रिदिव[मु\*][द्धृत]शोकशो-

1 The length of हा looks like र.

2 The ai symbols are engraved at the end of the previous line.

3 Metre: Upēndravajrā.

4 Read मुद्गर्ज.

5 Read घटैर्जहे.

6 The ai signs are in the preceding line.

7 Metre: Śikharinī.

8 One of the e sign of स्सै is in the previous line. Read प्रपञ्चैः [।\*] सैन्यैः.

9 A few syllables appear to have been omitted to be engraved before यमन्यै. Supplying them the passage may be read मदहयददाह.

10 Metre: Vasantatilaka.

11 Read त्रय.

12 Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍitam.

*Sixth Pillar.*

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- 377 कस्तस्यानुज<sup>1</sup>क्षितिमिमामखिला-<sup>2</sup>  
 378 मरक्षत् [।\*] <sup>3</sup>राजेन्द्रदेवनृपतिस्स  
 379 रिपूनशेषान् शेषोपमो<sup>4</sup>  
 380 <sup>5</sup>नभगभुजः प्रळयं व्यनै-  
 381 षीत् ।—<sup>6</sup>[७४\*] तस्मिन्याते <sup>7</sup>त्रिदिवमनुज-  
 382 [स्तस्य] <sup>8</sup>नस्तेजितारिः प्राज्यं रा-  
 383 ज्यं व्यथित<sup>9</sup> विधिवत्<sup>10</sup>वीरराजेन्द्र-  
 384 देवः[।\*] अत्युद्भूतं समधिकबलो  
 385 राजराजेन्द्रदेवः शत्रुव्रातं व्य-  
 386 जयत जवात्<sup>11</sup> बाह्यमाभ्यन्तरं च ॥—<sup>12</sup>[७५\*]  
 387 हत्वा कूटलसंगमे क्षितिभृ-  
 388 तः मण्णाटवंशोत्भवान्<sup>13</sup> सैन्यं<sup>14</sup>  
 389 यज्ञभुजां प्रवर्धयति य-  
 390 <sup>15</sup>स्तैर्देवभूयं गतैः [।\*] येनै-  
 391 केन . . . . . बले निर्हृत्य त-  
 392 च्छोणितैः [कृ]त्वान्यां सरितं<sup>16</sup>  
 393 समुद्रवानितां संतोषितो  
 394 वारि[धिः] ॥—<sup>17</sup>[७६\*] भ्रातृभ्यां समुपे-

- 1 Read नुजः क्षिति.  
 2 The length of ला is in the next line.  
 3 Read राजेन्द्र .  
 4 The secondary & symbol is in the next line.  
 5 Read नभगभुजः.  
 6 Metre: Vasantatilaka.  
 7 Read त्रिदिव.  
 8 Read निस्तेजितारि.  
 9 Read व्यथित.  
 10 Read वदीर.  
 11 Read जवाद् .  
 12 Metre: Mandakrāntā.  
 13 Read भवान् .  
 14 The anusvara of न्यं is in the next line.  
 15 The & symbols of स्तै are at the end of the previous line; Read स्तैर्देव.  
 16 The anusvara of तं is at the beginning of the next line.  
 17 Metre: Śardulavikṛīṭa. This is also the metre of the next verse.

- 395 क्षितं जनपदं वंशक्रमाभ्या-  
 396 गतं [क्रा]न्तं वैरिमद्देश्वरै<sup>1</sup>-  
 397 रतिबलैर्वेङ्गीन्कलिङ्गा-  
 398 नपि [I\*] जित्वा शत्रुपरम्परामतिब-  
 399 लां हित्वा च भीतान् बहूञ्छ्रीमा-  
 400 न्वलभवलभक्षितिपतिः  
 401 <sup>2</sup>क्षेमेण तं सोन्वसात्<sup>3</sup> ॥—[७७\*]  
 402 वीरचोळनृपतिः करिकालः का-  
 403 ल[य]न् कलिबलं सकलं सः [I\*]  
 404 धर्मशास[न\*] [ <sup>4</sup>समुच्चयमुचं व्या-  
 405 तनोत् [स]र[स]सारसमेतम् ॥—<sup>5</sup> [७८\*]  
 406 देवस्याद्रिसुताधिपस्य म[त] .  
 407 [त्रै]लोक्यसाराभिधं श्रीमद् द-  
 408 अ[सभा]नटस्य मकुटे माणि[क्य]-  
 409 <sup>6</sup>[का]रोपितम् [I\*]मन्ये वैरिकुला-

*Sixth pillar: second side.*

- 410 . . . . .  
 411 . . . . .म . . . . .[न्त्र] निजवश-  
 412 कृतस . . . . .स्तानुस्समारो-  
 413 पितः ॥—<sup>7</sup>[७९\*] चोळतुण्डीरपा-  
 414 <sup>8</sup>ण्ड्येषु गंगावाटिकुलतयोः<sup>9</sup> [I\*]  
 415 वीरराजेन्द्रना[मा\*]सौ ब्रह्म-

1 Read महीश्वरै<sup>०</sup>. The *ai* symbols alone of रै are at the end of this line.

2 The secondary *ē* sign of क्षे is in the previous line.

3 Read सोन्वशात् .

4 Read समुच्चय .

5 Metre: Svāgata.

6 Read मारोपितम् .

7 Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

8 The *ē* sign of ण्ड्ये is at the end of the previous line.

9 The secondary *ā* and the *visarga* of योः are in the next line.

- 1 Metre: Anushtubh: This is also the metre of the next verse.
- 2 Read °अयीविदाम्.
- 3 Read अतोषयद्.
- 4 Read ऐ॒श्व॑र्यं॒ व॒त्स॒वः॒
- 5 Read ए॒वाँ॑ ह॒ ।



### Translation.

(Verse 1.) Be it well! Prosperity! May the Lord of Bhavānī (i. e. Pārvatī),—who wears the crescent as an ornament (*on his head*); who, out of sport arising (in his mind), became the author of creation, protection and destruction of the world; who is the lord of speech; who is the sole abode of all knowledge (*sarvajñatā*); who renders the ocean of *samsāra*, with (*its*) fearful dangers, passable by men (*whose minds are*) bent with devotion towards Him,—grant you (i. e. the kings of the Chōḷa family) wealth.

(V. 2) May the god Śāmbhu,—who is merciful unto all objects, animate and inanimate; who, in his resplendant body, poised in *yōga* attitude on the (*Kailāsa*) mountain, successfully carries this supreme Māyā, which makes this world pleasant and is the cause of knowledge and ignorance; who, being pleased with the happiness enjoyed by all creatures (*paśus*),—protect you from falling, in order that your connection with sin may easily break asunder.

(V. 3) May that Hari,—who with his Discus caused to perish the whole host of the valiant Daityas; who made Bali remain always at the very bottom of the nether regions; who is the protector of the resplendant gods (*suras*); and who, through you, that are born in this world like a partial incarnation of himself, protects unchallenged in an instant the entire Earth,—destory immediately (*all*) your sins.

(V. 4) At first, God, the supreme lord of the universe, filled, in an opportune moment, with the extreme desire to create, produced water, the suitable object for evolving the world. Having sown in it his own eternal seed and raised there from it the *Brahmāṇḍa* which enveloped, as it were, the three worlds, and Vidhi (i. e. Brahṁā) in order to generate other desirable objects.

(V. 5) This Viriñcha (i. e. Brahṁā), who was thus begotten from him, having created the worlds with all varieties of objects, produced other Brahmas i. e. the Munīndras of irresistible power engaged in observing the (prescribed) duties (*karmas*). One among them, Marīchi, full of lustre pervading on all sides, illumined the houses i. e. the three worlds, (*and*) more than others . . . .

(V. 6) From him (i. e. Marīchi) came Paśyaka,<sup>1</sup> the Kaśyapa,—whose excessive beauty was well witnessed by the blooming multitudes of eyes (of the god) seated on the lotus flower (i. e. Brahṁā), who is reckoned as the foremost of men filled with pre-eminence; and whose sons the gods and others (i. e. demons), who, by constantly fighting with each other, had obtained possession of fortune (Śrī), excelled the ever-increasing billows of the ocean (which bore Lakshmī and were always dashing one against the other).

(Vv. 7 and 8) From him (i. e. Kaśyapa) was then born the incomparable Vivasvān (i. e. Sūrya), the originator of time, who ever excelled his kindred (i. e. other planets) by (virtue of) his growing lustre which is capable of protecting the worlds; and by the contact of whose rays, the lotus abode of Dhātṛi (i. e. Brahṁā), the lord of all (the universe), shone forth along with his lotus faces awaking (as it were), from sleep for the first time; by the clustre of whose (i. e. Sūrya's) rays, which dispelled dense darkness and shed light all around, the lustrous golden

1 Literally 'the seer'.

Brahmāṇḍa appeared as if it emitted dross; and whose disc, with rays, looked like the pericarp with filaments, of the lotus, which was the sky, beautified by petals, which are the directions of the compass.

(V. 9) To him (i. e. Sūrya) was born Manu, of spotless body, the first seed of kings, by whose only connection the subjects were called Mānavas by sages, (who was) the one adorable being to all men, who caused incomparable bliss by expounding the Dharmas, and which son (i. e. Manu), Sūrya (Bhāsvān) caused to shine as he did his father (i. e. Kaśyapa) by being Bhāsvatsuta.<sup>2</sup>

(V. 10) To him (i. e. Manu) was born the son Ikshvāku, who shone with (such) spotless fame as spread on all directions; whose glory was sung by hosts of Dēvas; whose mighty and far-reaching power of conquest overcame only the splendour of Mitra<sup>3</sup> (Sūrya), there being no enemy kings (*amitra*) (to be directed against).

(V. 11) To him (i. e. Ikshvāku) was born the highly righteous and intelligent son Vikukshīrava of unimpaired strength, who gave protection to this world; the bowing at whose feet easily secured to the kings of this earth that great prosperity which could be obtained only by fighting with each other.

(V. 12) Purañjaya, the subduer of kings appearing in battle-fields, was his (Vikukshīrava's) son. That venerable (king), by reason of his having made Indra a bull and stood on its stout hump in the field of battle, acquired the name Kakutstha, being (so) joyfully greeted by the Dēvas.

(V. 13) In this family there was Prithu, (who) equalled the Kulaparvata and was much respected by all kings. When he was king, people were wise and happy; and not pretending and needy.

(V. 14) In this mighty family there was king Kuvalāśva, whose body (when seated on the back of) steeds as powerful as those of the sun, shone all the greater. That highly powerful (monarch), causing good to this world, killed Dhundhu, the chief of the Daityas, who was concealed in the excessively sandy (river) Sindhu.

(V. 15) To allay the afflictions of this earth, there was born in this family the king named Māndhātā, of established fame, an incarnation of the enemy of the gods<sup>4</sup> glowing with astounding greatness and affording immense pleasure to the eyes of (all) men. For the destruction of unrighteousness, his discus busily whirled as far as the Chakravāla mountain.

(V. 16) When that king of supreme prowess was ruling this world, the deer wandered in company with lion, all objects gave up their natural enmity, but righteousness alone did not do so as there was no unrighteousness.

1 Evidently, the Praśasti-writer regards Vaivasvata-Manu as the author of the Smṛiti.

2 The writer makes a pun on the word *Bhāsvat suta* 'he who had Bhāsvān (Sūrya) as his son' and 'he who was the son of Bhāsvān'. Evidently the writer wants to convey that both Manu and Kaśyapa derived their fame by being the son and father of the Sun.

3 The poet makes here a pun on the word 'mitra' which means both 'a friend' and 'the Sun'.

4 The reading *amarāri* is clear: it is not possible to explain how a righteous king like Māndhātā came to be called an incarnation of the enemy of the gods.

(V. 17) In this family, which was always void of peril and was highly flourishing, there was born the prosperous Muchukunda, growing with (many) good qualities and with fame white as the Kunda flowers like unto a rising luminary (i. e.) the moon with its brilliant rays.

(V. 18) . . . . . the king made *svarga* hard of access even to those who were killed in battle.

(V. 19) In this family there was a king named Hariśchandra, subduing crowds of (enemy) kings by (his) prowess, and deriving pleasure in waging wars; and who, enduring the single desire of repaying the blind (owl-like) Kausika,<sup>1</sup> sold, even as (the worthless) grass, himself, his good son and wife.

(V. 20) In this family there was a king called Sagara, by whom other kings were put to fright; by whose preparation to perform several horse sacrifices, Dēvarāja (i. e. Indra) was struck with horror; by the prowess of whose sons, the salt sea having been termed Sāgara, . . . . . gave the status of (being called) Sāgara to other oceans as well.

(V. 21) In this family there was king Bhagīratha. In order to uplift the departed members of his family, who had been burnt to ashes by the increasing flames of the fire of Kapila's rage, he brought down to earth the heavenly river and made that Bhāgīrathī flow in three regions (i. e. the Heaven, the Earth and the Pātāla); and turned into immortal beings even the mortals that bathed in the flood of water of (that) devine river.

(V. 22) Rituparna, descended from this great family, filled with all kingly virtues and endued with a glorious fame praised by (all) goodmen, protected the entire earth.

(V. 23) In this family was born king Dilīpa, the one light of (all) the worlds, the dispeller of the afflictions of the earth, the destroyer of the prowess of hostile kings, of dreadful rage manifested by the lamentations of his enemies' wives, and of (such) fame (as was) increased by his ever successful bow.

(V. 24) Seeing the earth troubled by powerful and wicked demons, there was born in this family, an incarnation of the four parts of the Divine lord which (consisting of) the two glorious pairs of sons *viz.* Rāma with Lakshmaṇa and Bharata with Śatrughna, resembled the two pairs of arms of Viṣṇu.

(V. 25) The universal lord taught to the world the mode of conduct of a son to father, the method of behaviour of a brother to (his) brothers, that of a husband to (his) wife, that of an enemy to (his) enemy, that of a king to sages and that of a relation to (his other) relations.

(V. 26) He (i. e. Rāma) did not kill the lord of the demons (actuated) by anger; neither did he take back his wife (influenced) by passion; but he only did his duty as a king. If (it was) not so, why did he destroy with his sword the Śūdra who was performing penance on the Malaya mountain and why did (he) (again) abandon Sīta of lasting beauty and growing constancy.

1 The text reading कौशिकायान्धनायाम् on page 134 has been left uncorrected as it is not quite certain that कौशिकायान्धकाय is what is intended. With the latter emendation, the above translation is given. The poet seems to make a pun on the word *Kausika* which means both "an owl" and "the sage Viśvāmitra". *Andhaka* would be an apt qualifying word for either.

(V. 27) This (Rāma), the repository of righteous character, built a dam across the ocean in order to lead the army of monkeys and (as a result) established the (correct) extent of all (prescribed) duties. People praise Rāma, the abode of all good qualities, as the Dhūmakētu (i. e. the harbinger of ruin) to the miseries of the gods and the cause of the calamities of the demons.

(V. 28) In this family there was born a king named Chōla, who broke (the power of) the hosts of (hostile) kings; who was Death to the proud monarchs; and to whom, that ruled the earth as (easily as) his capital, all the forests became the pleasure garden for sporting.

(V. 29) On one occasion, (this king), who was as resplendent as Hara and was the resort of the learned, was cheerfully spending his days which afforded (enough) opportunities for sports, in the forests habited by assemblages of sages.

(V. 30) Endued with patience and attended by no large army, he once roamed through forests, desirous of killing (i. e. hunting) herds of deer; he who was by nature skilful, being allured by a demon, that appeared in the form of an antelope, wended his way southwards.

(V. 31) Another forest, thick with trees, was reached by the fleet steed which followed (this) deer. (And) prepared for a long journey, the commanders of his rapidly marching large forces accompanied the sovereign.

(V. 32) Having killed there the demon (*rajanichara*), the king, with a number of spies, moved along the (bank of the river) Kāvērī which carries on earth, in the form of water, the (very) nectar obtained by the gods by churning the milk ocean.

(V. 33) Having bathed in it (i. e. the Kāvērī), . . . . . to Brāhmaṇas, he, of subdued mind, did not find them there. (Therefore), having brought several eminent Brāhmaṇas from (the country of) the Āryāvarta, he made them live on (its) bank.

(V. 34) (That) strong (king), clearing all jungles, made an extensively fine grove of areca-palms abounding in betel-creepers; and by the small groves (planted by him, he made) the lands on both banks of the Kāvērī to have one (continuous) shade but many kinds of fruits.

(V. 35) People desirous of obtaining *svarga*, constantly bathe in the Ganges (*amara sarit*) and with great effort perform penance on its banks. (But) the ablutions and severe penance made here (i. e. the Kāvērī) fix on (i. e. secure for the virtuous, a dwelling in a handsome place, superior even to the abode of the gods.

(V. 36) After him Rājakēsari, who was the son of king Chōla, who like the Sun was incomparably bright and who had (his) hostile (kings) greatly afflicted, ruled the earth to the (very) edge of the ocean.

(V. 37) His son was king Parakēsari, whose orders had never to be disobeyed, who was the friend of the good, . . . . . ruled the earth . . . . .

(V. 38) In this family there appeared a king named Mrityujit, the conqueror of Death, who, pleasing the Dēvas by sacrifices, and making his foes tremble at his command, cast down hosts of enemies.

(V. 39) Born in this family there shone a king named Vīrasēna who removed the sufferings of all people, who equalled the Sun in splendour, who was the home of all happiness and who possessed beautiful limbs.

(V. 40) There was born in this dynasty an extremely glorious king named Chitra, whose anger was expunged (only) by the prostrations of the hosts of (his) terror-stricken enemies; and by whose arrows, (discharged) in battle, the foe of Vṛitra (i. e. Indra,) being terrified, became his friend and assumed the form of Vyāghrakētu's banner.

(V. 41) King Pushpakētu,—with whom the goddess of beauty perpetually resided; who, by the strength of his arms sportively drew (to himself) the prosperity of other kings,—was born in this race (in order) to rule the earth, which was (made) lovely by all the borders of the seas.

(V. 42) In this family was born a king called Kētumāla, who possessed the brightness of lightning (and) who had acquired his name Kētumāla by seizing clusters of banners (belonging to) enemy kings.

(V. 43) The king named Samudrajit . . . . . earth. He obtained the daughter of . . . . . as a price for the feat of joining the eastern ocean with the western one.

(V. 44) In this illustrious race was born a king named Pañchapa, esteemed for wealth. Being prayed to by five Yakshas, who came to him (in the guise of) guests, he, with a mind bent on evincing guileless hospitality to guests, made them drink his warm blood, by cutting (open) five (of his) arteries: he was (hence) known as Pañchapa.

(V. 45) Glowing like the moon and excelling in might the guardians of the (eight) quarters, there was in this race king Nṛmṛḍa. He of imperishable valour conquered the god of Death by the grace of Mṛḍa (Śiva).

(V. 46) In this family was born (a king) of spotless character called Manōratha, the valorous in battle. Having quickly destroyed the desires of his enemies, he made the desires of . . . . . fruitful,<sup>1</sup> with his strength.

(V. 47) In this family were born several kings such as Perunatkiḷli who surpassed the lord of gods (Amarēśvara) in point of strength, wealth and prowess. The world was permeated with their excellent fame which spread as far as the oceans, the earth and the Sun and shone upto the Brahmāṇḍa (i. e.) in all countries and at all times.

(V. 48) There was a Chōla king in this race, named Karikāla, who was equal (in firmness) to the *Kulaparvatas*; whose excessive fame, which greatly spread (in all directions), resembled the (flowers) of the reed (*kāśa*); who was (as it were) the forehead mark of kings; and who was Death to rival monarchs preparing for expeditions (against him).

(V. 49.) He (i. e. Karikāla), who was as bright as the Sun and who curbed the pride of the insubordinates, prevented, the Kāvērī,—which by its excessive floods, caused the earth to be deprived of its produce,—by means of a

1 सफलान् has been taken to stand for सफलान्.

bund formed of earth thrown in baskets, carried in hand by (enemy) kings.

(V. 50.) In that family was born the excellent king Vaḷabha, of good qualities pertaining to noble birth, whose feet were fit to be saluted by all kings; whose prowess was wonderful and matchless; and who, like fire, scorched up the mothlike enemies.

(V. 51.) There was in this family king Jagadēkamalla, who was equal to Amarēśa (*i. e.* Indra); who removed the nail of distress from men of learning; who possessed several missiles, which caused the destruction of (his) enemies.

(V. 52.) In this family of . . . . . son of Sūrya, there appeared the patient Vyālabhayaṅkara, whose pair of lotus-(like) feet were worshipped by hostile kings; who had his enemies cut to pieces by the sword, which he held in his prop-like hands; who was resorted to by the (ever) increasing goddess of wealth (Śrī); and whose fire of anger was only quenched when bathed by the tears, shed by the consorts of his foes.

(V. 53.) In this family was born (one) named Vijayālaya who was the lord of all the earth and whose pair of lotus-like feet were ever worn as crest-jewel by all monarchs.

(V. 54.) That king (*i. e.* Vijayālaya) constructed in the Chōḷa country a town named Tañchāpurī, provided with all the advantages of a new (city), praised by gods such as (Brahmā), seated on the lotus flower.

(V. 55.) His son was Ādityavarma, well known by (his other) name Kōdaṇḍarāma, who, pounced upon and killed the Pallava king seated on a rutting head-elephant.

(V. 56.) To him (*i. e.* Āditya) was born a son, the renowned king Parāntaka who was the sole lord of valorous kings, who was the abode of the goddess of heroism, and by whose principal elephant, roaring and emitting a flood of rut, sporting in the pleasure gardens on the shore of the sea, the water of the ocean was made fragrant in all quarters.

(V. 57.) By reason of his having killed the Pāṇḍya sovereign together with his forces and taken possession of all his wealth and reduced to ashes Madhurā (*i. e.* Madura), that valorous (*king*), the subduer of enemies, acquired the title Madhurāntaka.

(V. 58.) By (virtue of) his having conquered (in battle) the then unconquered king Krishnarāja, (Parāntaka),— who was comparable with Vijaya (*i. e.* Arjuna) and whose glory was augmented by his excessive prowess,— was famed as Vira-Chōḷa.

(V. 59.) (And) by (reason of) his having killed the lords of Siṃhaḷa, (who were) ready to give (him) battle, that (king *i. e.* Parāntaka),— who, with the help of his highly excited armies, which crossed the ocean, had his feet worshipped by all kings and acquired the meaningful name Siṃhaḷāntaka.

(V. 60.) Who is there that can be compared with this king, the (very) store-house of all good qualities? Who is there that can describe the collection

of good qualities in him, the only abode of prowess and the possessor of enemies, vanquished in battle; that had the entire host of enemies destroyed; and who established, just as Brahmā created the *svarga*, Brāhmaṇa villages (*agrahāras*) commencing with the name Vīranārāyaṇa, fit to be enjoyed by learned Brāhmaṇas.

(V. 61.) The son of this (sovereign) was the king named Arindama, (who was as) bright as the Moon, who had a number of enemies destroyed, and by hearing the strength of whose arms, (his) trembling foes dwelt in the cavern homes of mountains.

(V. 62.) This (king) made the hostile monarchs obey his commands just as it pleased him. Like unto Brahmā, (he) bestowed wealth on the good. With his highly praised valour, he caused calamities to his enemies and made the brightness of the moon equal his (own) splendour.

(V. 63.) The son of this (king *i. e.* Arindama) was Parāntaka, who ever had his hosts of enemies destroyed; and contemplating on whose advancement, the quivering Pāṇḍya sovereign crossed the mountain (and fled away).

(V. 64.) (He) threw into prison all his enemies; crossed (successfully) many an ocean-like battle; removed the anguish of the assemblage of scholars; and caused grief to the wicked.

(V. 65.) From this monarch (*i. e.* Parāntaka), who is the abode of all good qualities, was born the king (naranātha) named Rājārāja, who, having a body as beautiful as (that of) . . . . . and such sparkling eyes as resembled the lotus (flower), equalled the god of wealth (Rājārāja) only in point of bestowing riches (Dhanada).<sup>1</sup>

(V. 66.) He (*i. e.* Rājārāja) slew in battle (enemy) kings, uprooted evils from the earth, conducted several sacrificial rites and spoke truthful . . . . .

(V. 67.) While Rājārāja was the firm support of the submissive, it is a pity that the dull-headed Satyāśraya should fly away (from the battle-field). Enemies terrified in battle win him over by their submission; and this (king) did not make his foes lose (either) their lives or (their) wealth.

(V. 68.) To him was born the son (*i. e.*) the king named Madhurāntaka, who was the punisher of the insubordinate and who, like Pakaśāsana (*i. e.* Indra) was the chastiser of (his) foes; and who had a body as beautiful as that of Śambarāri (*i. e.* Manmatha).

(V. 69.) Like Vijaya (*i. e.* Arjuna), that (king) of invincible valour and brilliance of form and beauty, conquered all the lords of the Kuntala (country). With his prowess, he took away from the valiant king Bihāḷa<sup>2</sup> the crown of Jāmadagnya (*i. e.* Paraśurāma), the destroyer of the Kshatriyas.

(V. 70.) He, who had his enemies vanquished (in battle) by the strength of (his) arms, took away the garland of Śatakratu (*i. e.* Indra), which was as resplendent as the moon: and in a battle-field (he) made Mānykēṭa a play-ground for his armies.

1 The writer evidently wants to say that the king, unlike Kubēra, whose other name Rājārāja he bore, had a beautiful body.

2 The reading of the name Bihāḷa is highly doubtful.

(V. 71). He had the lords of the Kulūta and Utkala (countries) slain by the generals of his forces; destroyed the Kaliṅga king together with the chief of Viṃśa;<sup>1</sup> brought the Ganges,— whose banks were destroyed by a roaring herd of elephants,— in pots filled with (its) water, which were carried on the heads of crowned kings.

(V. 72). With (the help) of his forces, which crossed the seas, which were excessively powerful in arms and which had scattered away the armies of all his enemies, he (*i. e.* Madhurāntaka) burnt Kaṭāha, that could not be set on fire by others. What is (there that is) impossible for this Rājendra-Chōla !

(V. 73). Like unto a sacrifice having three fires, there were (born) to him (*i. e.* Rājendra-Chōla) three sons, of whom the first was king Rājādhirāja, the forehead mark of the rulers of the earth, who set fire to Kalyānapura after conquering its overlords, . . . . . Āhavamalla . . . . .

(V. 74). When this (king) (*i. e.* Rājādhirāja) went to Heaven, king Rājēndradēva, his younger brother, who had a pair of arms like unto the lord of serpents (Ādiśeṣha), removed the sorrows of the people, protected all this earth and caused, (as it were), all his enemies to be submerged in a deluge.

(V. 75—76). When this (king) (*i. e.* Rājēndradēva) went to Heaven, Vīra-rājēndradēva, his younger brother, who had deprived his foes of (their) splendour, ruled the extensive dominion according to prescribed laws. This highly powerful king Rājēndradēva, who having slain at Kūḍalsāṅgama the kings of the Maṇṇāṭa<sup>2</sup> family, increased the army of the partakers of sacrificial offerings by (means of) these (*i. e.* Kārṇāṭa kings) who had become gods; and by whom the Ocean-god was delighted . . . . . having killed . . . . . and created with their blood another river, an additional damsel to it,— quickly conquered countless inner and outer multitudes of forces.

(V. 77). The Vēṅgi and the Kaliṅga countries, which were inherited by his two brothers but were left uncared for by them, having been taken away by powerful enemies, the glorious king Vallabha-Vallabha conquered (these) highly powerful foes, leaving many that were frightened and ruled over the countries safely.

(V. 78). That king Vīra-Chōla *alias* Karikāla, the destroyer of the manifold strength of the Kālī-age, established many a charming, substantial and lofty charitable edict (*dharmaśāśana*).

(V. 79). I think . . . . . the ruby called Trailōkyasāra placed on the crown of the dancer in the Dabhrasabhā (*i. e.* the god Naṭarāja), who is the lord of Adrisuta (*i. e.* Pārvatī).

1 *Viṃśendraiḥ* has perhaps to be corrected into *viṃśāndraḥ* in which case its meaning would be 'lords of twenty villages'. In this connection, the following couplet of Manu may be noted:—

ग्रामस्याधिपतिं कुर्याद्दशग्रामपतिं तथा ।

विंशतीशं शतेशं च सहस्रपतिमेव च ॥

2 Perhaps "Kārṇāṭa" is meant here.



(V. 80—81). This king, Vīrarājendra by name, established *brahmadēyas* in the Chōla, Tuṇḍīra, Pāṇḍya, Gaṅgavātī and Kulūta countries: pleased forty-thousand Brāhmaṇas, learned in the three Vēdas, by grants of lands and permanently settled them there.

(Lines 420—444). Hail ! Prosperity ! In the seventh year of (*the reign of*) the illustrious (king) Vīrarājendradēva, the resort of all the world, the glorious lord of the earth, the overlord of kings, *sakalamahēndra*, the lion, (as it were,) of the eight excellent families, the promotor of the welfare of kings, . . . . .  
 . . . . . who saw the back of Āhavamalla three times, Rājaśekhara, Rājāsraya, Rājarājendra, Vīra-Chōla, Karikāla-Chōla, Rājakēsarivarman, Vīrarājendradēva, the glorious emperor, gave (*to the goddess*) Kanyāpīḍāriyār at [Kumari] in Purattāya-nāḍu (a sub-division) of Uttamaśōla-vaḷanāḍu (a district) of Rājarāja-Pāṇḍināḍu, for daily requirements, two hundred and seventy one and three quarters (of a *vēli*) and two *mā* of land in Naṇṇirākkuḍi, (a village) in Purattāya-nāḍu (a sub-division of) Uttamaśōla-vaḷanāḍu, together with fifty-nine (*vēli*) and nine . . . . . of land included in Peruṅguḍi-Kīlkombu, a village in the same nāḍu . . . . .

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## XV. INSCRIPTIONS OF TIRUKKĀKKARAI.

### No. 35.—An inscription of Indukodaivarman dated in the 5 + 11th year of reign.

Tirukkākkarai is a village in the Alangad Taluk of the Kōttayam Division in North Travancore. It is about two miles from the Edappalli railway station of the Cochin State Railway and is famous for its Vishṇu temple celebrated in the hymns of Nammālvār.<sup>1</sup> The god there is now called Appaṇ and the goddess Peruñjelva-Nāyakī. While the village is termed Tirukkātṭkarai in the Nālayiraprabandham, it is spelt Tirukkālkkarai or Tirukkākkarai in inscriptions.

The Vishṇu temple of the place contains a number of early inscriptions engraved in the Vaṭṭeḷuttu characters. Five of these belonging to the reign of the Chēra king Bhāskara-Ravivarman have already been edited in Part I of Volume II of the *Travancore Archaeological Series*.<sup>2</sup> The rest of the records, along with another which has been partially published before, are edited below. Of these, three belong to the time of a king named Indukōdaivarman or Indiśvaran-Kōdai, one of Bhāskara Ravivarman, and two others mention Kannaṇ Puraiyaṇ, the chief of Kālkkarai-nāḍu. One is dated in the year 3705 of an un-named era and the rest mention some early chiefs.

The subjoined inscription is engraved on the south base of the proper right of entrance into the first *prākāra* of the Vishṇu temple at Tirukkākkarai.

It is dated in the 11th year opposite to the 5th, of the reign of king Indukōdaivarman-Tiruvaḍi. It was also the year in which Jupiter was in Sinha-rāsi. The palaeography of the Vaṭṭeḷuttu characters employed in it shows that the king should be assigned to about the same period of time as Bhāskara Ravivarman. From the general formation of the letters, it can even be inferred that Indu Kōdai might be slightly anterior to Bhāskara-Ravivarman, but not later. Guided by this general indication, afforded by a close study of the characters, a searching examination was made in the records of the two kings to find out points which might go to confirm or controvert the conclusion. It has resulted in furnishing favourable evidence. In the records of Indu Kōdaivarman figure two individuals Pōḷaṇ Śāttan of Velliyaṇṇalli and Kannaṇ Pōḷaṇ of Paṇṇitturutti, while in those of Bhāskara-Ravivarman appear two other viz., Śāttan Kumaraṇ of Velliyaṇṇalli and Pōḷaṇ Kumaraṇ of Paṇṇitturutti. As the names indicate, the former two individuals must stand in the relation of father or uncle to the latter two. Consequently, it might be said that king Indu Kōdaivarman in whose records the fathers or uncles figure must be anterior to, and not far removed from, Bhāskara Ravivarman in whose inscriptions the sons or nephews make their appearance.<sup>3</sup>

1 See the sixth ten of the ninth section of the *Tiruvāymolī* commencing with the words உருகுமாஸ் வரை. For a list of the Vishṇu temples celebrated in the Nālayiraprabandham, see note on page 131 of Vol. II. of the *Travancore Archaeological Series*.

2 For their texts see pages 39, 41, 43, 47, and 49.

3 In Malabar an individual prefixes to his name the name of his uncle and this custom seems to have been adopted even in early times.

We might therefore tentatively, assume that king Indu Kōḍaivarman was the immediate predecessor of Bhāskara Ravivarman. By calculation, it has been found that A. D. 1031 was a year in which Jupiter was in Simha-rāśi and it fell in the reign of Bhāskara Ravivarman. Since we know that that king ascended the throne in A. D. 978, it can be said that the year in which Jupiter occupied the same position before that date, was A. D. 971, which must be the 16th year of king Indu Kōḍaivarman. If this prove correct by further researches, the initial date of the king must be A. D. 955. And if no other king, with a short reign of 7 years, intervened between Indu Kōḍaivarman and Bhāskara-Ravivarman, it is probable that the former continued his rule for 7 years after the date of the record under discussion.

At the present state of our knowledge about the chronology of the Kēraḷa kings, Indu Kōḍaivarman's date furnishes an important link, and to some extent bridges over the interval of nearly a century between Sthānu Ravi—who, to be a contemporary of the Chōḷa Āditya I, which he was, should have ruled up to at least the last quarter of the 9th century A. D. as will be shown below—and Bhāskara Ravivarman, who commenced his reign in A. D. 978. It may be noted that the long reign of the Chōḷa king Parāntaka I extending over the whole of the first half of the 10th century, *i. e.* from A. D. 907 to 953, would under normal conditions minimise the period of rule of his father Āditya I, the utmost limit of whose reign could have been only 30 years from A. D. 877 to 907. Since Sthānu Ravi had been Āditya's contemporary, his rule should have extended into the 4th quarter of the 9th century A. D. We learn from an inscription of Parāntaka I, found at Tiruvorriyūr and dated in the 29th year of his reign (= A. D. 936), that the Chēra princess Nīlī, who made gifts to the temple, was the daughter of the Kēraḷa king (*Kēraḷarāja*) Vijayarāgaḍēva,<sup>1</sup> whom we may perhaps identify with the Vijarāgattēvar, who figures as the *Kōyiladhikāri* in the two Kōṭṭayam Plates of Sthānu Ravi.<sup>2</sup> Perhaps princes of the Chēra line styled themselves *Kōyiladhikāris* and had some sort of power and official position in the palaces of kings. There is nothing in the Chōḷa record under reference to show if the Kēraḷa king Vijayarāgaḍēva was living at the time and under what circumstances his daughter went to Tiruvorriyūr and made the grant. At any rate, it is certain that Vijayarāgaḍēva was a Kēraḷa king and the successor of Sthānu Ravi. It is even probable that there was another Kēraḷa ruler who reigned between this Vijayarāgaḍēva and Indu Kōḍaivarman of our inscription. At any rate, it is a valuable addition to know that Indu Kōḍaivarman belonged to the regular Chēra line and was the immediate predecessor of Bhāskara Ravivarman.

The inscription registers the grant of a land called Vettikkōḍu, by a chief of Kalkkarai-nāḍu named Kannaṇ Puṟaiyaṇ, to the temple of Tirukkalkkarai-Bhātāra. From the *mērpāḍi*, which term may be taken to mean 'the owner's share of produce', Kannaṇ Puṟaiyaṇ ordered the feeding of twelve Brāhmanas, the conduct of worship in the *śurru-maṇḍapa* on the day of the constellation Makhā in the

1 No. 169 of the Madras epigraphical collection for 1912

2 *Trav. Arch.*, Series Vol. II. pp. 81 and 82.

month of Māṣi, and the supply of gruel during the month of Karkāṭaka. The officers bound themselves to give the paddy required for the purpose. From the cultivator's share, the tenants,—who are mentioned by name with their native villages,—instituted nine *agram*, ordered the maintenance of two perpetual lamps and gave silver salvers and *vattagai*. In cases of default, the tenants bound themselves to pay double the quantity at default. It is declared that the land should not be resumed by any future rulers in charge of the government of the country (*nāḍuvāḷumavargal*) and that any person who attempted to do so should be removed from the ministry and be made to pay a fine of one hundred *kaḷaṇṇu* of gold to the *kōyiladhikāri*. Neither could officers or other persons acting on their behalf, become at any time the *pāṭṭamālar* (i. e. assume cultivating rights). Any transgression of this last condition involved the same fine as the previous one i. e. 100 *kaḷaṇṇu* of gold. The land was left under the protection of the *ūrālar*.

The document is signed by a number of persons who are called *sādhus* and their native villages are also given. It appears that these are officials of the king. The deed was drawn up by a native of Kummaṇkōḍu named Iravi Kunnappōḷaṇ.

Altered forms of words used in this inscription are *kaḷaṇṇu* (l. 2) for *kaḷaṇṇu*, *kāṇṇiram* (l. 4) for *kāṇṇiram*, *kariḍu* (l. 4) for *karadu*, *uḷḷoḍuṅga* (l. 4) for *uḷḷaḍaṅga*, *payara* (l. 4) for *peyara*, *iraḷchchikka* for *rakshikka* and *kaḍaviṣar* for *kaḍaviyar* or *kaḍavar*. It has been elsewhere pointed out by me that *tāḷkki*<sup>1</sup> which had offered the greatest difficulty to discerning and which Prof. Sundaram Pillai has taken to refer to the name of a village<sup>2</sup> is only a corruption of *sākshi*. In doing so, I showed that *sa* changes into *ta* as in '*tandadi*' which stands for *saṇṭati*, *tannadi* for *sannadi* &c. But the difficulty was to account for the introduction of *ḷ* which is really what evades the inquirer. From the form *iraḷchchikka* used in this epigraph, it will be seen that *ḷ* is also sometimes introduced to preserve the phonetic value of *ksha*.

Of the official terms that occur in the inscription, *ūrālaṇ* is properly the revenue collector. *Adrikāri* denotes state officials. This official calling is retained in the modern designation of a village munsiff on the west coast. *Nāḍuvāḷumavar* is not used in the literal sense of 'persons living in a country or division', but stands for 'rulers of divisions of a country'. This is clear from such usages as '*Vēṇāḍu Vāḷndarūḷiya Maṇikaṇṭha Rāmavarman*'<sup>3</sup> '*Naṇṇuḷaināḍu-vāḷnda*'<sup>4</sup> and '*Yakkaṇ Kunnappōḷaṇ nāḍuvāḷkkaiyil*'<sup>5</sup> which occur in inscriptions. The statement that if any *nāḍuvāḷumavar* resumed the granted land, he would be subject to pay a fine to the *kōyiladhikāri* indicates that the latter was an official of a higher order or status. We have already shown that he must be a royal relation, most probably a *Yuvarāja* or prince elect to the throne.

1 See, above, No. 33, introduction.

2 *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXIV. p. 284f.

3 Above, p. 81.

4 *Trav. Arch. Series*, Vol. II. p. 33.

5 See below, No. 38.

Of etymological interest are the words *ulpāḍaṇ* and *perumudiyaṇ*. These two terms occur in a large number of inscriptions of Bhāskara Ravivarman discovered at Tirukkālkkarai and other places, situated in the northern part of the Travancore State. For treating them as proper names, there is not much warrant.<sup>1</sup> The plural form *perumudiyaṇmār* used in an epigraph<sup>2</sup> found at Tirukkālkkarai is quite decisive on the point, as it shows clearly that the word *perumudiyaṇ* has to be taken as a common noun and not as the name of a person. In all probability, the terms *ulpāḍaṇ* and *perumudiyaṇ* should have originally indicated some offices connected with the temple. This is apparent from the very passages which mention them. What their precise and primitive functions were it is not possible to fix; but this much may be safely advanced *viz.* that they were entrusted with the care of temple funds or properties which were left in their charge. From the subjoined record we learn that these persons issued gold from the temple and received lands on behalf of the god. It is interesting to note that this last function is given in other epigraphs to the *poduvāl* (*i. e.* a body of men who looked after charitable endowments), as opposed to the *ūrālar* (*i. e.* official in charge of the collection of State Revenues). The latter had nothing to do with the incomes accruing on lands set apart for temple purposes. In fact, when grants of lands or villages were made to temples, it was customary to insert an express clause in documents preventing the *ūrālar* from entering such lands and villages, demanding or receiving any dues from the tenants and from replacing existing tenants by others,—powers which, till the time of the grant, they evidently possessed.<sup>3</sup>

Very often the duties and callings of men have, in course of time, given rise to castes; and in the West coast many of the castes falling under the broad term of *ambalavāsis* (literally persons depending on the temple for their maintenance) have grown from hereditary official positions connected with temples. Among such, there is one called *Mūttadu* or *Valiyamūttadu*. It is not improbable that this class sprung from the official denomination of *perumudiyaṇ* which we may at once point out is the exact equivalent of *Valiyamūttadu*. It is generally regarded that the *Mūttadu* are *Śaivites* in point of religion: but from the Tirukkālkkarai inscription, it appears certain that in ancient times the *perumudiyaṇmār* were also *Vaiṣṇavas* or made no difference in that respect. The *Mūttadus* are also known as *agappoduvāl* and this again, as pointed out already shows that they should have sprung from the official denomination of *perumudiyaṇ* whose functions were sometimes shared by a section of the *poduvāl* and the *ulpāḍaṇ* who were in charge of the transactions connected with the inner apartments of temples. *Ulpāḍaṇ* seems to correspond to *unnāḷigaiyār*.

1 See No. 46 below, text-line 7.

2 *Trav. Arch. Series* Vol. II. p. 39.

3 *Ibid* p. 146, foot-note 2.



A list of villages and persons that occur in this inscription is given below.

Serial No.	Name of village.	Name of person.	Remarks.
1	Aṭṭāṇi-kōṭṭam	Dēvaṇ Śāttan	
2	Chirayin̄kōḍu	Iravi Vāsudēvaṇ	
3	Iḷandurutti	Kēraḷaṇ Nārāyaṇaṇ	See lines 186 & 568 of the Tiruvalla plates.
4	Kīḷagam	Kor̄raṇ Puraiyaṇ	
5	Kummaṇkōḍu	Iravi Kuṇṇappōḷaṇ	
6	Kuṇṇiyūr	Kaṇḍaṇ Puraiyaṇ	
7	Kuppe-Vāḷkkai	Kaṇḍaṇ Nārāyaṇaṇ	
8	Mērrali	Śiṅgapirāṇ Kumaraṇ Pōḷaṇ Kumaraṇ	
9	Paṇṇitturutti	Kaṇṇaṇ Pōḷaṇ	See p. 43 of <i>Travancore Archæological Series</i> , Vol. II.
10	Paṇambu	Kēraḷaṇ Śrī-Kumaraṇ Kumaraṇ Nārāyaṇaṇ	
11	Perundōṭṭam	Kaṇḍaṇ Nārāyaṇaṇ	
12	Pullippaḷḷi	Saṅkaraṇ Kumaraṇ	
13	Ūr	Nakkaṇ Kēraḷaṇ Kaṇḍaṇ Śēndaṇ Kottaṇ Kōdai Kumaraṇ Śāmi Kaṇṇaṇ	
14	Vaṇṇalaichēri	Kōdai Ravi	See lines 555-6 of the Tiruvalla plates.
15	Vēḷḷiyāṇpaḷḷi	Pōḷaṇ Śāttan	
16	Vēṇbamalai	Yakkaṇ Pōḷaṇ	See <i>Travancore Archæological Series</i> , Vol. II. p. 30.
17	Vēṇḍalaman	Kaṇṇaṇ Kumaraṇ	

Of the proper names noted in the above list, Ilandurutti, Perundōṭṭam and Vaṇṇalaichēri occur in the Tiruvalla plates (ll. 61, 186, 555-558 and 568); and Paṇṇitturutti and Velliyaṇṇalli are mentioned in the inscriptions of Bhāskara Ravivarman, found at Tirukkākkarai.<sup>1</sup> It is stated in the Tiruvalla plates that Kōdai Ravi of Vaṇṇalaichēri, the same individual that figures in the subjoined record, ordered to provide for lamps and offerings to the temple of Tiruvallavāḷ-Appaṇ and that Kuṇṇaṇ Rāmaṇ, the ruler of Muṇṇināṭṭi-Iḷaṅkūru gave certain lands for the purpose (ll. 556-7). Three other persons of note also make their appearance in connection with the same temple. These are Rāmaṇ Kōdaivarman of Muṇṇi-nāḍu (l. 533), Rāmaṇ-mādevī (ll. 537-8) and Muṇṇimārāyar (l. 542). The first made grants in the year in which Jupiter was in Mēsha-rāsi; while the assignment made by the second, who in all probability was the queen of the first, is dated in the year when Jupiter was in Kanni; and the last i. e. Muṇṇimārāyar is said to have paid penalty for certain misconduct, by a grant to the temple. All these appear to be more or less of the same time. And the fact, that Kōdai Ravi of Vaṇṇalaichēri is known from the subjoined inscription to belong to the time of Indukōdaivarman, enables us to fix the time when these grants were made. Rāmaṇ Kōdaivarman's grant might have been made in A. D. 966-7 and that of queen Rāmaṇmādevī in A. D. 971-2, when Jupiter occupied the signs stated in the plates.

Text.<sup>2</sup>

- 1 [ஹ்லி ஸ்ரீ கொவி]ந்து கொதைவன்மர் திருவடிக்குச் செல்லாநின்ற யாண்டு<sup>3</sup> பதினொராமாண்டைக்கெதிர் அய்யா மாண்டு சிங்கத்துள் வியாழந் நிற்கச் செய்த கருமாவது [||\*] [கா]<sup>4</sup> திருக்காலக்கரை உள் பாடனும் பெருமுதியனுங் கைய்யால் பொன் கொண்டு காலக்கரைநாடுடைய கண்ணம் புறையன் வாய்க்கால்ச் சிறைக்கு மெல் இடைச்சிறைக்கு கிழும் வெட்டிக்கரிக்காட்டுக் கொள்ள பூமியும் [புனை]வ[ரெ]யும் கூட திருக்காலக்கரை பட்டாரகர் திருவடிக்கு அட்டிக்குடுத்தான் காலக்கரை நாடுடைய கண்ணம் பு-
- 2 [றையன் ||\*] இப்]பூமி [மெ]ற்பாதியும் . . . . பணியுங்கொண்டு கண்ணம் புறையன் தானமைச்ச செலவாவொ [||\*] பந்திரண்டு கலம் திருவக்கிராமும்[||\*] மாயி<sup>5</sup> மகத்தி னு<sup>6</sup>ள் சுற்றுமா [டங்]கூட ஆராதனைக்கு பதின் கழஞ்[னு] பொன்னு[ம்\*] கறக்கடக ஞாயிறுதொ[றுங்]ரியதி இடங்கழியால் பதினாழி அரிகொண்டு கஞ்சியுஞ் செலுத்தக் கடவிய ரதிகாரிகள் [||\*] ம[ற்]றைப்பாதிக்கும் மெற்றளிப் பொழங்கு மர நமச்ச அக்கிர[ம்\*] மூன்று கலம் நந்தாவிளக்கொன்று [1] ஊரந் நக்கங்கொள நமச்ச அக்கிர[ம்\*] ஒன்று [1] ஊரந் கண்ட[ன்\*] செந்[த\*] நமச்-
- 3 [ச அக்கிர][ம்\*] ஒ[ன்]று [1] வன்றலசெரி கொ[தை] இரவி யமைச்ச நந்தாவிளக் கொன்றும் திருவக்கிரம் வெள்ளித்தாலமும் வட்டகையும்

1 *Travancore Archaeological Series*, Vol. II. pp. 39 and 43.

2 Lines had been drawn and the surface prepared for writing.

3 னு is a rare letter in Vatteḷuttu inscriptions; and its shape resembling கு is worthy of note.

4 A symbol resembling ka is engraved here. It might either stand for a punctuation mark or it might be that the engraver commenced to write *Kākkarai* instead of *Tirukkākkarai* and subsequently left it without erasing.

5 Read மாகி.

6 னு looks like ரா.

கூட ஒன்[று] [1] மெற்றளிச் சிங்[க\*]ப்பிரான் குமர[னமை]ச்ச தி  
ருவக்கிரம் வெள்ளித்தாலமும் வட்டகையும் [கூட] ஒன்றும் [1] ஊர  
ங் குமரஞ்சாமி கண்ணனமச்ச அக்கிர[ம்\*] ஒன்றும் [1] வெண்பமலை  
யக்கம் பொழ நமச்ச அக்கிர[ம்\*] ஒன்றும் [1] இவ்வொன்பதும் ந  
ந்தாவிளக்கிரண்டு[ம்\*] [11\*] கண்ணம் புறைய நமச்ச அக்கிரம் பந்தி  
ரண்டு[ம்\*] சுற்றுவிளக்கு[ம்\*] கஞ்சியும் காட்டெட்டிக்கரிக் கொட்  
டால் செலுத்தக் க-

4 [டவிய ரதிகாரி]கள் [11\*] இப்பூமி மாவறக்கொண்டு முதலற அட்டி குடு  
த்தான் காலக்கரை நாடுடைய கண்ணம் புறையன் [11\*] கல்லுங் கரிடும்  
காஞ்ஞிரக்குற்றியு முள்ளு மு[யிறு]மாக(க) வமையும் வெட்டிக்கரிக்  
காட்டி னெள்ள பூமி எவ்வகைபட்டது முள்[னொ]டுங்ங அட்டிக் குடு  
த்தான் கண்ணம் புறையன் [11\*] இச்செலவு முட்டுகில் முட்டிரட்டி  
செலுத்த[க்\*]கடவியர் பாட்டமாள் [11\*] இப்பூமி நாடுவாழமவ  
[ர்\*]கள் பயரப்பெறார் [1\*] பயருமவனை அமச்சுள்ளு மற்ற கொயில  
திகாரிகளுக்கு [அ]ற்ற[ற]<sup>1</sup> கழஞ்சு பொன் தண்டம்படக் கடவியர் [1\*]  
இப்பி<sup>2</sup>-

5 மி [நாடு]வாழமவ[ர்\*]களாக அவ[ர்\*]களுக்கு சார்ந்நவர்[க\*]ளாக பா  
ட்டமாள்பெறார் [1\*] இவ[ர்\*]களும் அத்தண்டமெ பட்டக்கடவியர்  
[11\*] இதற்கு இப்பரி[சு\*] அறியும் சாதுக்கள் அட்டானி கொட்ட  
த்து தெவஞ் சாத்தனும் இளந்துருத்தி கெரள நாராயணனு[ம்\*] பெ  
ருந்தொட்டத்து கண்ட நாராயணனும் பறம்புடைய[ய] கெரளஞ் சிரி  
குமா[ர்\*]னும் சூப்பெவாழ்க்கை கண்ட நாராயண[னு]ம் பறம்புடைய  
குமர நாராயணனும் சிரயன்கொட்டிரவி வா துதெவனும்<sup>3</sup> பன்றித்துரி  
த்தி கண்ணம் பொழனும் வெண்ட[ல]மணக் கண்ணங் குமரனும் கி  
ழகத்து கொற்றம் புறையனும் குன்றியூருடைய கண்டிம் புறையனும்  
ஊரங் கொத்தங் கொதைய-

6 ம் . . . . இரவி கொதையும் குலசெகரபட்டினத்து மாறங் கொவிந்த  
னும் ஊரங் கண்ண[ஞ்] சிரிகண்டனும் ஊரம் குமரன் சிரிகண்டனும்  
ஊரங் பொழ<sup>4</sup> நாணனும் வெள்ளியான்பள்ளி பொழஞ் சாத்தனும்  
புல்லிபள்ளிச் சங்கரங் குமரனும் அறிவார் [11\*] இவ[ர்\*]கள் வெண்டக்  
கெட்டுக் கெழப்பிச்சு கைய்யெழுதி அறிவென் சும்மன்கொட்டு இர  
[வி]சுன்றப்பொழ[னெ]ன்<sup>5</sup> இப்பூ[மி\*]கா[ழ்]க்கரை நாட்டு<sup>6</sup>ர[ா]  
ளர் இரழ்ச்சிக்கக் கடவர் [1\*] இரக்காபொகம் ஆட்டு கற்கடக ஞாயி  
ற்று மகத்தி[ன]ள் இடங்கழியால் நூற்று நாழி அரி கொண்டு ஊ  
ட்டக்கடவியர் [11\*]

7 உள்பாட[னு]ம்பெருமுதியனு[ம்\*] ஊட்டா தொழிவாராயின் பூமி தடு  
த்துவச்ச உண்ணக்கடவியர் [1]தெவர்க்கு அஞ்ஞா . . க்கிரா . ணந்திர்  
த்து கொடுக்க கடவியர் [த]ச்சநாட்டுரோள் அன்று செல்லப்பொதி  
பந்திரண்டு காணம் பொன் தெவர்க்கு தண்டம்படக் கட[வி][சர்]<sup>7</sup>

1 Read அற்ற.

2 Read இப்பூ.

3 Read வாஸுஷேவனும்.

4 This and other பொ's of this epigraph are hardly distinguishable from ஊ.

5 There is a punctuation mark after பொழனென்.

6 ே and ூ are distinguished from their short.

7 Read கடவியர்.

[11\*] திருமால் அறைப்பிராட்டி அமைச்ச அக்கிரம் ஒன்று [1\*] இதுவ் வெட்டிக்கரிக் காட்டின்மெற் செல்விது [11\*] வெட்டிக்கரிக்காட்டின்மெலுள்ள செலவு முட்டிக்கமவன் முழிக்களக்கச்சம் [11\*]

### Translation.

Hail! Prosperity! In the year, in which Jupiter stood in Simha, and which corresponded to the fifth, year opposite to the eleventh, current in the reign of king Indu Kōdaivarma-Tiruvaḍi, the following transaction was made:—

Having received gold from the hands of the *ulṭāḍaṇ* and the *perumudiyaṇ* of Tirukkālkkarai,<sup>1</sup> the chief of Kālkkarai-nāḍu (*i. e.*) Kaṇṇaṇ Puṟaiyaṇ gave, with libation (*of water*), the lands comprised in Veṭṭikkarikkāḍu, situated to the west of Vāykkālchchirai and to the east of Iḍaichchirai, along with Puṇaivarai, to the Bhaṭṭārakar-Tiruvaḍi of Tirukkākarai.

From the *mērpāḍi* (*i. e.* the owner's share of the produce) on this land and from . . . , Kaṇṇaṇ Puṟaiyaṇ instituted the following expenses<sup>1</sup>:—

The officers (*adhikārar*) shall supply (1) twelve dishes of sacred meal (*i. e.* meals required for feeding twelve persons); (2) the gold required for performing the worship (of the deities) in the enclosure verandah (*śurṟumāḍam*) on the day of Makhā in the month of Māsi; and (3) the gruel to be supplied during the month of Karkāṭaka, with ten *nāḷi* of rice daily, as measured by the *iḍaṅgaḷi*.

From the other half (*i. e.* the cultivator's share) were instituted (the expenses of) three dishes<sup>2</sup> of meals and one perpetual lamp, (the same being) ordered by Pōḷaṇ Kumaraṇ of Mēṟṟali.

- one *agram* ordered by Ūraṇ Nakkaṇ Kēraḷaṇ;
- one *agram* ordered by Ūraṇ Kaṇḍaṇ Śēndaṇ;
- one perpetual lamp together with a sacred *agram*, a silver salver and one (*vattagai*), ordered by Kōḍai Iravi of Vaṇṟalaichēri;
- one sacred *agram*, together with a silver salver and *vattagai*,<sup>3</sup> ordered by Śiṅgapirāṇ Kumaraṇ of Mēṟṟali;
- one *agram* ordered by Ūraṇ Kumaraṇ Śāmi Kaṇṇaṇ;
- one *agram* ordered by Yakkaṇ Pōḷaṇ of Venbamalai,—making in all, nine *agram* and two perpetual lamps.

The officers (*adhikāri*) shall, from (*the income of*) Kāṭṭeṭṭi-Karikkōḍu, supply (what is required for) these and for the twelve *agram*, the lamps for the enclosure *verandah* and the gruel instituted by Kaṇṇaṇ Puṟaiyaṇ.

Kaṇṇaṇ Puṟaiyaṇ, the chief of Kālkkarai-nāḍu, having received completely the (consideration) money, gave with libation of water this land. Kaṇṇaṇ Puṟaiyaṇ gave with libation (of water) Veṭṭikkōḍu inclusive of all kinds of lands such as those having stones, boulders, stumps of *sticknos nuxvomica* (*kāñjiram*), thorny shrubs, the red ants (*muyirru*), *etc.*, contained (in it).

1 The words "Kālkkarai-nāḍuḍaiya Kaṇṇaṇ Puṟaiyaṇ" are repeated twice.

2 The form *śelavāḍ* used in this inscription is obsolete.

3 *Āalam* means 'a dish' or 'a vessel' and stands for the person that eats. The passage, therefore, means that he instituted the feeding of 3 persons.

3 This word occurs in the Tanjore inscriptions and has been rendered 'basket' (S. I. I. Vol. II. p. 421).

If any default arises in the defraying of these expenses, the *Pāṭṭamālaṇ* shall pay double the quantity at default. This land shall not be resumed by any (of the officers) governing the country. He who resumes it, shall be removed from the ministry<sup>1</sup> and be made to pay a fine of one hundred *kaḷaṇṇu* of gold to the *kōyiladhikāri*. Either those who govern the country or those that act on their behalf shall not (at any time) become the *pāṭṭimālaṇ*. (If transgressed), these also shall be subject to the same fine. The *sādhus* who knew this, in this wise, are Dēvaṇ Śāttan of Attāṇi-kōṭṭam, Kēraḷa Nārāyaṇan of Iḷandurutti, Kaṇḍan Nārāyaṇan of Perundōṭṭam, Kēraḷan Śiri-Kumaraṇ of Paṇambu, Kaṇḍan Nārāyaṇan of Kuppe-Vāḷkkai, Kumaraṇ Nārāyaṇan of Paṇambu, Iravi Vāsudēvaṇ of Chira-yiṅkōḍu, Kaṇṇan Pōḷan of Paṇṇitturutti, Kaṇṇan Kumaraṇ of Veṇḍalaman, Korraṇ Puraiyaṇ of Kīḷagam, Kaṇḍan Puraiyaṇ of Kuṇṇiyūr, Kottaṇ Kōḍai of Ūr, Iravi Kōḍai of . . . . ., Māraṇ Gōvindaṇ of Kulaśēkharapattinam, Kaṇṇan Śiri-Kaṇḍan (Śrīkaṇṭan) of Ūr, Kumaraṇ Śirikaṇḍan (Śrī-kaṇṭha) of Ūr, Pōḷan Nārāyaṇan of Ūr, Pōḷan Śāttan of Velliyaṇṇaḷḷi and Śaṅkaraṇ Kumaraṇ of Pullipaḷḷi—all these know (the transaction).

At the request of these, I Iravi Kuṇṇappōḷan of Kummaṇkōḍu, hearing the document, wrote it, read it out for them to hear, and knew (the transaction).

The *ūrālars* of Kāḷkkarai-nāḍu shall protect this land. On the day of Makhā in the month of Karkātaka of each year, the *rakshābhōga* of (one) hundred *nāḷi* of rice, as measured by the *iḍaṅgaḷi*, shall be received and the feeding conducted. If they fail to feed, the *upāḍan* and the *perumadiyaṇ* shall eject them; and taking the lands in their own hands, conduct the feeding.

### No. 36.—Inscription of Indesvarankodai: regnal year 5—5.

The subjoined inscription, in the Vaṭṭeḷuttu characters of the period to which the record belongs, is engraved on a slab of stone lying in the courtyard of the Vishṇu temple at Tirukkākkarai. It is dated in the month of Mēsha of the 5th year opposite to the 5th (*i. e.* the 10th) year of the reign of king Indēśvaran Kōḍai. In this year, the planet Jupiter occupied the *rāśi* Mīna. The date furnishes an additional proof that king Indu Kōḍaivarman or Indēśvaran Kōḍai ascended the throne in A. D. 955, as surmised by me already, for the year 965 which corresponds to the 10th regnal year of the king is a year in which Jupiter was in Mīna-rāśi as stated in the record.

The inscription registers an assignment of the revenues of the lands called Peruvayal, kannaikāḷāyudaiyār-pōṭṭai, Tachchaṇār-pōṭṭai and Vaṭṭappōṭṭai, —together yielding an annual income of twelve *kalam* of paddy, both by way of proprietor's share of produce and as tax,—for burning two perpetual lamps and for feeding two Brāhmanas in the temple of Tirukkāḷkkarai-Bhaṭṭarar. One of the lamps was made of silver and it was ordered to be burnt with campher inserted in

1 This passage may also be rendered "He who resumes it, shall be subject to a fine of one hundred *kaḷaṇṇu* of gold to the *kōyiladhikāri* and the ministers."

the wick. The donor was Śadiraśikhāmaṇi *alias* Kīḷaṇaḍigaḷ. The employment of the terms *Aḍigaḷ* and *taṃperumāṭṭiyūr* for the donor and his wife shows that Śadiraśikhāmaṇi was a chief of some consequence. The correct name of the person was perhaps Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi. In this connection, it is worthy of note that the *adhikāris i. e.* the officers had been made responsible for supplying the temple with the stipulated quantity of paddy, which, would not have been the case if the donor were a private individual. It is further added that if the income from the lands assigned became less, these officers had to make good the deficient quantity: and if default was made in the worship, the *ulpāḍaṇ* was required to pay a fine of two and a half *kānam* of gold. The last clause enables us to say that the term *ulpāḍaṇ* corresponds to the *uṇṇāḷigaiyāṇ i. e.* the person in charge of (worship in) the central shrine, while *perumudiyāṇ* was the temple official in charge of the outer precincts.

### Text.

- 1 ஸ்ஷித்ரீ [11\*] கொவந்தெஹுரங் கொை[த]க்குச் செல்[லா] நின்ற யா-
- 2 ண்டு அ[ய்\*]யாமாண்டைக்கெதி ரையாமாண்டு மினத்தில் விபா-
- 3 முந் நின்ற <sup>1</sup>மெடஞாயிற்றுச் செய்த கருமமாவது [11\*] திரு-
- 4 க்காள்க்கரை<sup>2</sup> பட்டாரர்க்குச் சதிரசிகாமணியாயின
- 5 கிழாயடிகள்<sup>3</sup> அமைச்ச வெள்ளி நந்தாவிளக் கொன்று [11\*] இதிலுக்கு நிச-
- 6 ல்<sup>4</sup> அரைக்காணங் கருப்புரந்<sup>5</sup> திரியிலிட் டெரிக்கக் கடவர் [11\*] இவர் அமைச்ச
- 7 [திரு]வக்கிர மிரண்டு [11\*] தம்பெருமாட்டியார் அமைச்ச நந்தாவிளக் கொன்று [11\*] வி-
- 8 ருதுல[ர\*]ந் நெ[ய்]யுங் கய்ய புளியும் ஒரு தெங்காயும் கறியும் உப்பும் கூட உச்-
- 9 சைத் திருப்பலியின்முன்னை யமிர்து செய்விக்க<sup>6</sup> கடவர் [11\*] இச்செல-
- 10 வின் னமைஞ்ஞ பூமியாவது [11\*] பெருவயல் பூமியும் புலைய-
- 11 ருங் கண்ணைகாலாயுடையார் பொட்டையுந் தச்சனார் பொட்டை-
- 12 யும் வட்டப்பொட்டையிற் கடனு மெலொடியுக் கூட ஆ-
- 13 ட்டு நால்பபத்திருகலந் நெல் பொரக் குடுத்தார் படார[ர்\*] அதிகா-
- 14 ரிகள் [11\*] இந்நெல் பொர[ர]க்கால் குறைஞ்ஞ திட்டி செலித்தக் க-
- 15 டவர் படார[ர்\*] அதிகாரிகள் [11\*] இப்பூமி பாட்டமாண்டு முட்டி ட்டி-

1 ட Looks almost like த.

2 Read க்காள்க்கரை.

3 Read கிழானடிகள்.

4 Read நிச்சல்.

5 Read கருப்பூரந்.

6 செய்விக்க.

- 16 யு மடியன்தரமுந் திர்த்து செலுத்த கடவர் [11\*] இத்திருவாராதி-  
 17 னை ஒருநாள் முட்டுகில் இரண்டரைக் காண[ம்\*] பொன் தண்டம்  
 வைச்ச<sup>1</sup> செ-  
 18 [லுத்த] கடவன் உள்பாடன்[11\*]

Translation.

Hail! Prosperity! In the month of Mēsha of the fifth year opposite to the fifth year of (*the reign of*) king Indēśvaran Kōdai corresponding to the year in which Jupiter stood in Mīna, the following transaction was made:—

To the (*temple of*) Tirukkālkkarai-Bhaṭārar, Sadiraśikhāmaṇi *alias* Kilān-adgaḷ gave one silver perpetual lamp. This (lamp) had to be burnt daily with half a *kāṇam*<sup>4</sup> of campher inserted into the wick. He also instituted two sacred *agroms* (*i. e.* feeding of Brāhmaṇas). His queen gave one perpetual lamp. Before the sacred *bali* offerings of the noon (are made), the feeding shall be conducted, with two *tulām* of ghee, one *kaiśu*<sup>2</sup> of tamarind, one cocoanut, vegetable and salt.

The following are the lands set apart for these expenses:—

The officers of the Bhaṭāra assigned the yearly income of twelve *kalam* of paddy from the land called Peruvayal along with the Pulaiyaṇ<sup>3</sup> (attached to it), Kannaikkālāyy-uḍaiyār-poṭṭai, Tachchanār-poṭṭai and the taxes and proprietor's share of (the land called) Vaṭṭappoṭṭai. If the income became less, the deficient quantity must be made good by the officers of the king.

These lands shall be cultivated and in cases of default, after defraying double the defaulted amount and after removing the *aḍiyandaram*, the expenses shall be met.

If this worship is allowed to fail for one day, the *uḷpāḍaṇ* shall, (after) paying a fine of two and a half *kāṇam*<sup>4</sup> of gold, perform the worship.

No. 37. An inscription of Indu Kodai: Date lost.

This inscription in the Vaṭṭeḷuttu characters and the Tamil language is engraved on the outside of the south and east bases of the *śūru-maṇḍapa* of the Viṣṇu temple at Tirukkākkarai. It belongs to the time of king Indukōdai-varma-Tiruvaḍi. The date portion is lost.

Among the peculiarities of the language the following deserve to be noted;—The use of *ū* as a sign of the dative in '*purayidattiṇu*', '*amidiṇu*', and '*viḷakkiṇu*' in line 3; '*tuḍavu*' as a variant of '*tuḍam*', '*kolkuḍai*' for 'customary payments', '*tegiya*' in the sense of 'fully' and '*oḷichchu*' for '*oḷittu*' (exempting).

1 Read வைச்ச.

2 *Kaiśu* is a weight equal to one-fourth of a *kalam*. It occurs in the Tanjore Inscriptions of Rājaraṣa I. (See *South-Ind Inscr.* Vol. II. pp. 75, 77).

3 The duty of the Pulaiyan was probably to watch the crops.

4 *Kāṇam* denoted both a gold weight and gold coin.

The object of the inscription is to register a gift of land, made by a chief named Śōḷaśikhāmaṇi of Nediyatali, for offerings to the temple of Tirukkākkarai. Kannaṇ Puraiaṇ, the ruler of Tirukkākkarai-nāḍu exempted the land from the customary payments, and the *uḷpāḍaṇ* and the *perumudiyaṇ* bound themselves to pay certain quantities of ghee both in respect of this grant and for the maintenance of the lamp ordered to be put up by Kannaṇ Kumaraṇ of Kārilam. Evidently, the latter refers to the gift registered in No. 40, below.

The following officers figure as witnesses to the transaction:—

Dēvaṇ Dēvaṇ of Malaippuram,  
Kēśavaṇ Śaṅkaraṇ of Perumaṇaikkōṭṭam,  
Pōḷaṇ Nārāyaṇaṇ of Kulasekharapaṭṭiṇam,  
Pōḷaṇ Śrīkaṇṭhaṇ of Ūr,  
Pōḷaṇ Śāttan of Velliyaṇpaḷli,  
Kumaraṇ of Malaiyilpaḷli and  
Iravi Kuṇṇappōḷaṇ of Kummaṅkōḍu.

Of these, Pōḷaṇ Śāttan figures in the 16th year record of Indukōdai, published above, (No. 35); Kēśavaṇ Śaṅkaraṇ of Perumaṇaikkōṭṭam appears among the signatories in an epigraph of Bhāskara Ravivarman, dated in the 6th year of reign (below, No. 42). The writer of the present inscription was the same person as the one that wrote the 16th year record of the king.

The fact that one of the signatories of this record also figures in an early epigraph of Bhāskara Ravivarman suggests that the date of the inscription, which is lost, must be later than the 16th year of the reign of Indukōdaivarman and not far distant from the date of accession of Bhāskara Ravivarman.

### Section I.

1. ஸ்ரீ ஸ்ரீ [11\*] கொவிந்து கொதைவன்மர் திருவடிக்குச் [செல்லாநின்ற யாண்டு] . . . . . [வி]யாழந் நின்ற தனு ஞாயிற்றுச் செய்த கருமமாவது [11\*] கண்ணம் புறைய-
2. [ன் நாடுவாழ்க்கையில்] நெடியதளி [பூமி] [சொ]ழுகாமணி அமச்சுதி . . . . [11\*] . . . . தெவர் கொண்ட புரையிடமு[11\*]வடக்கு கெயவன் சங்கரன் புரையி-
3. பத்தினு தெக்கு நாராயணமங்ஙலத்திற்படாத பூமியெல்லாம் [கய்யெழு] . . . . . அமிதினு படுபூமி எல்லாம் வாழ்ந்து கும்ப ஞாயிற்று

### Section. II.

4. நாட்டினும் வாழ்க்கைக்கு பணிக்குங் கொடுக்குங் கொள்குடையுமொழிச்சு கொடுத்தான் காலக்கரை நாடுடைய கண்ணம் புறையன் தெவர்க்கு [11\*] இந்நெய் நாளாலுந் திங்ஙளாலும் முட்டி[11\*]க்கில் முட்டிரட்டி செலுத்தக்கடவர் [11\*] ஓராண்டு தெகிய முட்டிக்கில் காராம்மை விடக்கடவியர் [11\*] இருபத்த[ஞ்சு].



- 5 [துட]வு உள்ப்பாடனும் பெருமுதியனும் கூடி முந்நூற்று மங்கலத்[தா]  
ரை இதுங்கூட இருபத்தஞ்சு [துடவு] நெய் செலுத்தக்கடவர் காரிலி  
த்து கண்ணங் குமரனமச்ச விளக்கினு [||\*] இப்பரி அறியுஞ் சாது  
க்கள் மாலைப்புறத்து தெவந்தெவனும் பெருமனைக் கொட்டத்து கெச  
வஞ் சங்கரனும் எலுசெகரபட்டி]-
- 6 னத்து பொழநாரணனு[ம்\*] ஊரன்பொழஞ் சிரிகண்டனு[ம்\*] வெள்  
ளியான்பள்ளி பொழஞ் சாத்தனு மலையிபள்ளிஇல் குமரனு மறியு [||\*]  
மிகளறிகக் கய்யெழுதி அறிவென் கும்மன்கொட் டிரவி குன்றப்  
பொழனென்

### Translation.

Hail! Prosperity! In the month of Dhanus of the year which was current in the reign of king Indu-Kōdaivarman-Tiruvāḍi and (*which corresponded to*) the year in which Jupiter stood in . . . . ., (*the following*) transaction was made, while Kaṇṇaṇ Puraiyaṇ was governing the country. Śōḷasīkhāmaṇi of Neḍiyataḷi set up . . . . . All the lands not included in Nārāyaṇamaṅgalam and lying to the north of the garden obtained by . . . . . Dēvaṇ and to the south of the garden of Kēśavaṇ Śaṅkaraṇ . . . . . wrote . . . . . Enjoying (*i. e. culti-vating*) all the lands set apart for . . . . . offerings shall . . . in the month of Kumbha. Kaṇṇaṇ Puraiyaṇ gave to the god . . . . . exempting (*them*) from all the payment to be made such as those for the protection of the country, and for the (several) services. If any default is made in respect of this ghee, for any day or month, double the defaulted quantity shall be paid. If default is made for a complete year, the *kārānmai* (*right*) should be given up. In (addition) to the twenty-five *tuḍavu* (of ghee) which the *uḷpāḍaṇ* and the *perumudiyaṇ* had to supply for this, they shall give twenty-five *tuḍavu* of ghee for the lamp ordered (to be set up) by Kaṇṇaṇ Kumaraṇ of Kārilam.

Thus known to the *sādhus* Dēvaṇ Dēvaṇ of Mālaippuram, Kēśavaṇ Śaṅka-raṇ of Perumanaikōṭṭam, Pōḷaṇ Nārāyaṇaṇ of Kulaiśēkarapaṭṭinam, Pōḷaṇ Śrī-kanṭhaṇ of Ūr, Pōḷaṇ Śattaṇ of Velliyaṇpalli, and Kumaraṇ of Malaiyilpalli. To the knowledge of these, I, Iravi Kunrappōḷaṇ of Kummaṇkōḍu wrote this (deed) and knew (*the transaction*).

### No. 38.—Tirukkakkarai inscription of Yakkan Kunrappolan.

This inscription is engraved on the south and east bases of the *śurru-ma-ndapa* of the Viṣṇu temple at Tirukkākkarai. Though fragmentary, it is important, being written in Vaṭṭeluttu characters, not far removed from the time of Indu-Kōdaivarma-Tiruvāḍi, whose epigraphs are the earliest in the temple; it reveals to us the name of Yakkan Kunrappōḷaṇ of Panritturutti who was one of the feudatory chiefs ruling a part of the Kēraḷa dominions. The object of the inscription was to register gifts of lamps made both by the chief and by a private individual, to the temple of Tirukkākkarai-Bhaṭṭāra. The chief Yakkan Kunrappōḷaṇ also figures in another inscription of Tirukkākkarai which is not dated and does not mention the name of the king (No. 39).

## Text.

1. ஸ்ஷுஷி ஸ்ரீ [11\*] சிங்ஹத்தில் ஸியாழம் நின்ற கும்பஞாயற்று செய்த கரும்  
மாவது [1\*] பன்றித்துருத்தி யக்கங் குன்றப் பொழன் நாடுவாழ்  
க்கையில் வெண்ம்பூயம் ஆகின்ற விரு-
2. . . . . வாய் நாராயணன் அமைச்ச விருச்சிக விளக் கொன்று [11\*]  
முட்டிக்கில் முட்டிரட்டி<sup>1</sup> செலுத்தக்கடவர் [11\*] மூவாண்டு முட்டு  
. . . . . [11\*] . . . . .<sup>2</sup>
3. ற்றினொரண்டளவு திருக்காலக்கரைப் படாரர்க்குந்<sup>3</sup> திருவிளக்கிற ஆ  
ட்டிக்\*குடு[த்\*]தாது<sup>4</sup> யக்கக்குற்றப்<sup>5</sup> பொழன் [11\*] இப்படிக்கின்றி<sup>6</sup>  
இரண்டு முதல் . . . . . டிச் செய்து நிச்சல் முன்னாநாழியால்  
உரியுரி நெய் செலுத்தக் கடவியன் !—

## Translation.

Hail! Prosperity! (The following) transaction was made in the month of Kumbha of the year in which Jupiter was in the sign Śimha:—

While Yakkan Kunrappōlan of Panrutturitti was ruling the country, (*the land called?*) Venpūyam . . . . . Nārāyaṇan set up one Vṛśchika lamp. If default is caused, double the amount at default shall be paid. If default is made for three years . . . . . Yakkan Kunrappōlan gave with libation of water . . . . . for sacred lamps to (*the temple of*) Tirukkākkarai-Bhaṭāra, to last for . . . years. Otherwise than this . . . . . one *uri* of ghee as measured by the *muṇṇānāḷi* shall be given daily.

## No. 39.—Another inscription of Yakkan Kunrappolan from Tirukkakkarai.

This inscription is engraved in the Vaṭṭeḷuttu characters on the east base of the central shrine of, and at the proper right of entrance into, the Viṣṇu temple at Tirukkākkarai. Its object is to regulate the conduct of temple servants and to fix the penalties in cases of transgression. Being much damaged, it is not possible to understand the full import of it. One of the rules laid down is that temple servants should not borrow money. If they did, both the debtor and the creditor should be made to pay a fine of one hundred *kaḷaṇṇu* of gold to the temple. Another was that none but Brāhmanas should carry the god into the temple.

Proper names that occur in the record are Yakkan Kunrappōlan of Panrutturitti, who was the then ruler of the country, Kōdai Kēraḷan of Iḷandurutti, who made the regulations, and Śaṅkaraṇ Śrīkanṭhan of Pullippalli, who wrote the inscription. Judging from the palæography of the record, its date may be said to

- 1 ரட்டி is entered below the line.
- 2 Portions are lost before and after the second line.
- 3 Read படாரர்க்குத்.
- 4 Read குடுத்தான்.
- 5 Read க்குன்றப் பொழன்.
- 6 Read இப்படிக்கின்றி.
- 7 This may be the name of a place either land or village.

fall prior to the reign of Bhāskara Ravivarman or in the early part of the reign of that king.

The peculiarity of the alphabet can be judged from the plate facing this page.

Text.

1. ஷ்ஷி ஸ்ரீ [II\*] திருவாராதனை யெம்பெருமக்கள் உள்ளிட்டா . . . . .  
 . . . . . [பொன்]னும் கடங்கொடுக்க பெறார் [II\*]
2. கொடுக்கில்<sup>1</sup> பெ ருமானடிகளுக்கு தூற்றுக் கழைஞ்ஞு பொன் தண்டப்ப  
டக் கடவியர் [II\*]
3. கொடுத்தானும்<sup>2</sup> அ[வ்\*]வண்ணமாவ்விது [II\*] . . ஞ்சு அரியு மடைத்  
து . ல்ல . . . யனதிம . . .
4. . . க்கப்பெறார் [II\*] அதிகாரிகளும் திருத்தி . . . . . செய்தவர  
னை . . க்கடவ . . .
5. ழியுமலா<sup>3</sup>ளும் பட்டாரகரை பூசரர் மதிலகம் புக கடவியர் [II\*] மற்றெ  
து ஆசந்தி செய்த-
6. தில்லை யென்று யிக்கல்லின் மெலெழுதிய வண்ணமன்றியெ பண்ணுமவ  
ரள்
7. யிம்மதிலகத்தொள்ள தன்ம முட்டிச்சொந மாய் திருநாராயணம் பிழை-
8. ய்சொருமாவிது [II\*] யி[க்\*]கச்சம் பன்றித்துருத்தி யிக்கந்<sup>4</sup> குன்றப்  
பொழன் நா<sup>5</sup>வாழகை
9. யிள[ந்\*]துருத்திக் கொதை கெரளன் பண்ணிச்சது புல்விபள்ளிச் சங்க  
ரஞ்சிரி[க]ண்ட-
10. ன் எழுத்து

Translation.

Hail! Prosperity! The greatmen who perform worship (*in temples*) and others . . . . . shall not receive<sup>4</sup> money on loan. If they receive<sup>5</sup> they shall be liable to pay a fine of one hundred *kaḷaṇḍu* of gold to the god (*perumāṇaḍigal*). Those who lend shall also be subject to the same fine.<sup>6</sup> The officers and . . . . . the Bhūsuvas *i. e.* Brahmins shall cause the god (Bhaṭṭāra) to be taken within the walls (of the temple). If otherwise than what is recorded on this stone, or if any one, saying that he did commit . . . . .<sup>7</sup> act in such manner (*as to cause impediment*), he (*shall be considered*) to have obstructed the charities connected with the temple<sup>8</sup> and to have committed offenses against the god Tirunārāyaṇa. Kōdai Kēraṇ of Iḷandurutti made these arrangements, while Yakkan Kunrappōlan of Panrītturutti was governing the country. The writing of Śaṅkaraṇ Śrīkaṇṭhaṇ of Pullippaḷli.

1 ல் is entered as an interliniation.

2 னு is entered below the line.

3 Read யக்கங்.

4 *Kaḷaṇ koḷukka-pperaṇ* means "shall not accept being given on loan."

5 *Koḷukkai* has to be taken in the sense of *koḷukkappēṇu*.

6 After this, there is a damaged portion which is too fragmentary to translate.

7 The meaning of the word ஆசந்தி cannot be made out.

8 Literally "that which is within the walls."

### No. 40.—Tirukkakkarai inscription of Kannan Kumaran.

This inscription is engraved on the outside base of the *surru-maṇḍapa* of the Vishṇu temple at Tirukkakkarai. It remains incomplete, having lost a good portion at the end of each of the first three lines. It registers a gift of money made by a certain Kannan Kumaran of Kārilam in favour of the temple at Tirukkakkarai, so as to enable the temple officers *i. e.* the *ulpāḍan* and the *perumudiyan* to purchase certain lands situated at Kannaṁaṅgalam and belonging to a certain Iyakkaṇ Kōḍai of Ravimaṅgalam. Two other persons *i. e.* Puraiaṇ Kaṇḍan and Pōlaṇ Gōvindaṇ appear to have been made the cultivators of the lands on condition that they supplied annually six hundred *nāḷi* of paddy to the temple, besides giving (one) *nāḷi* for wastage. Failure to carry out the conditions of the grant, involved the loss of the cultivating right.

From this inscription, it is clear that when grants of money were made to temples, they were sometimes utilised in purchasing lands, which were entrusted to some cultivators on condition that they undertook to supply stipulated quantities of produce so that the object of the grant might be fulfilled; that it was customary to give in addition to the agreed quantity of paddy, an extra quantity to meet wastage; and that failure to comply with the conditions of assignment, deprived the cultivator of his cultivating right.

The inscription is not dated. Only a few astronomical details are given and these are insufficient for calculation. Palæographically, the record may be assigned to the middle of the 10th century A. D. The Vaṭṭeḷuttu script employed in this inscription is quite similar to that found in the epigraphs of king Indu Kōḍaivarman and I would accordingly regard it as belonging to the time of that king. Besides, there is also internal evidence favouring the view. The donor Kannan Kumaran of Kārilam figures in another epigraph from the same temple, which is dated in the reign of king Indu Kōḍaivarman. Perhaps A. D. 972-3, which was a year in which Jupiter remained in the sign Kanni and which fell in the reign of Indu Kōḍai, is the date of the inscription.

Regarding the official designations of the *ulpāḍan* and the *perumudiyan* see page 164, above; and on *kārāṇmai* and *kaḍamai* see page 61, above. *Tuḍavu* is a grain and liquid measure; this form *tuḍavu* must have been the original of the modern *tuḍam* which is a measure holding quarter of a *nāḷi*. Pulaiaṇ is a man of an inferior caste left in charge of lands and fields; his duty was perhaps to cultivate and watch. As remuneration for the work he did, he appears to have been given some lands free of all taxes.

The proper names of persons and places that occur in this inscription are Kannan Kumaran of Kārilam, Iyakkaṇ Kōḍai of Iravimaṅgalam and Kannaṁaṅgalam.

#### Text.

1. ஸ்ரீ [u] கன்னியில் விபாழந் திற்கச் சிங்க ஞாயிற்று செய்த கரும  
மாவது [u\*] கரிலத்த[து] கண்ணந் குமாணிடைப் பழந் காசிஞெடு  
ஒப்பிது முப்பத்து அறு கழைஞ்சு பொன் கொண்டு . . . . . ஆட்டை  
. . . . .

2. தெவர் துடவீனல் முப்பத்து அஞ்சு துடவு நெய் செலுத்தக் கட  
வர் [11\*] இப்பொன்னினு கண்ணம் [ங்\*] நலத்து உயலுங் கரையம்<sup>1</sup>  
புலையரும் மற்று மிரவிமங்கிலத் தியக்கங் கொதை வாழ்நருளின்ற பூ  
மி எவ்வகைப்பட்டதும் . . . . .
3. கொள்ளக்கடவ னுள்ப்பாடனும் பெருமுதியனும் [11\*] காரைக்காடு  
டையார் குளத்தினு வழிக்கு தெ[க்குஉள்ள] பூமியும் வாழ்ந்து கொ  
ள்ளக்கடவியன் புறையங்கண்டனும் பொழிந் கொவிந்நனு [\*11] மிய  
பூமி . . . . .
4. தெவர் பறையால் நாழி பொக்கு<sup>2</sup> [11\*] அறுநூற்றுநாழி நெல் கொட்  
டகாரத்தி [ல\*] அளவு கொடா]
5. [க்\*]கில் காராண்மை விடக்க[ட\*]வியன் [1\*] கடமை கூட காராண்  
மை காண்பிது [11\*]

Translation.

Hail ! Prosperity ! (*The following is*) the transaction made in the month of Simha of the year in which Jupiter stood in Kanni:—

Receiving thirty-six *kalāñju* of gold, equal in fineness to the old *kāṣu*, from Kannaṇ Kumaraṇ of Kārilaṁ . . . . . year . . . . . shall supply daily thirty-five *tuḍavu* of ghee, as measured by the temple *tuḍavu*. For this quantity of gold, all the *different* kinds of lands under the enjoyment of Iyakkaṇ Kōḍai of Ravimaṅgalam, situated in Kaṇṇamaṅgalam, inclusive of the *vayal* (*i. e.* wet lands), *karai* and the *pulaiyaṇ* attached to them . . . . . shall be taken by (*the temple officials*) the *uḷppāḍaṇ* and the *perumudiyaṇs*. Puraiyaṇ Kaṇḍaṇ and Pōḷaṇ Gōvindaṇ shall enjoy the lands laying to the south of the pathway (*leading*) to the tank of Kāraikkāḍuḍaiyār. This land .... (one) *nāḷi* as measured by the *paraḷ* of the temple shall be given for wastage. If six hundred *nāḷi* of paddy are not measured out and given in the temple (*kottakāram*),<sup>3</sup> the *kārāṇmai* (*i. e.* the right of cultivation of the land) shall be given up: the tax (*kaḍamai*) also shall be included<sup>4</sup> in the *kārāṇmai*.<sup>5</sup>

No. 41.— Tirukkakkarai inscription of the time of Kannan Puraiyan.

This inscription is engraved on the east base (outside) of the *śurramaṇḍapa* of the Viṣṇu temple at Tirukkākarai. It is in the Vaṭṭeḷuttu alphabet and Tamil language. Its object is to register certain regulations preventing rulers of countries *i. e.* district officials, from lending money to temples and temple servants.

1. Read கரையம்.

2. Can also be read as நாழிக்கு.

3. *Kottakāram* means 'a palace'; but in the present case 'the temple building' is probably meant. It is now shortened into *Koṭṭāram*.

4. *Kaṇbiḍu* literally means 'shall be seen'.

5. What is meant by this is not plain.

If in spite of this order they did so, they were prohibited from proceeding against the debtor (from the recovery of the loans). If a worshipping priest had received loans he should not be permitted to do duty in the temple. If after taking loans, the priests retain worship in the temple—they should be considered as having committed offences against the regulations of Mūlikkālam.

The date of the inscription is only indicated in general terms *viz.* the year in which Jupiter was in the Mithunam. Though this does not by itself enable us to fix the year with any amount of certainty, yet the fact that Kannaṇ Puraiaṇ was among those who framed the regulations might be taken to show that the record is one falling either in the reign of Indu Kōḍaivarman who reigned from A. D. 955 to 978, or immediatly after, for we know that Kannaṇ Puraiaṇ was a contemporary of Indu Kōḍaivarman. The exact year of the record may be one of the three dates A. D. 957 969 or 981, in all of which years Jupiter was in Mithuna. If it were A. D. 969 it would be reasonable to expect it to be dated in the reign of Indu Kōḍaivarman for then he was actually ruling the country. Since this is not so, the date must be either A. D. 957 or 981. In either case, the omission of the king's name is significant. Assuming the latter date, which seems to be more probable if we take into consideration the palaeography of the record the omission may be accounted for in this way. Actually the regulations might have been framed in the reign of Indu Kōḍai but at the time it was engraved on stone that king should have passed away or abdicated the throne in favour of his successor and the successor was not anointed king till some time later. The record could not therefore be dated in the reign of either king. And this is perhaps also the reason why, according to some of the inscriptions of Bhāskara Ravivarman, his initial date works out to be A. D. 980, 981 or even 982. This enables us to say that the year A. D. 978 is the date of *abhishēka* and not the actual coronation of Bhāskara Ravivarman, and that though virtually Indu Kōḍaivarman was king, in reality, it was Bhāskara Ravivarman that should have managed the affairs of the Kēraḷa dominions from A. D. 978 when the necessity for his *abhishēka* arose till A. D. 982 when perhaps Indu Kōḍai passed away.

### Text.

1. ஷஷி ஸ்ரீ [11\*] மிதுனத்தில் வியாழந் நிற்க கன்னி ஞாயிற்று கால்கரை  
நாடுடைய கண்ணம் பு[றயனு]. . . . .
2. கூடிச் செய்த கருமமாவது [11\*] ஆராதிக்கும் எம்பெருமக்கள் . . . ,
3. களு மிவகளுக்கு கொடுத்தன்றி அவர்கள் வைக்க கடமையில்லை [11\*]  
. . . . . மாராதினை . . . . . ஸ்ரீவாராயில் படாரதி  
ரு . . . . .
4. நாடுவாழுமவகளுக்கு கடங்கொடுத்துகொண்டு சாந்தி இநக்கப் பெறார்.  
[11\*] கொடுத்து இரப்பாருளராயில் படாரரையும் ப[டாரரதி]கா  
ரரையுந் துடரப் பெறார் [11\*] இவ்வண்ணம் பண்ணாது] . . . . .

5. பத்துள்ள திருவாராதனை முட்டிச் சொராமெ முழிககன கச்சம் பிழைச்  
சார் [I\*] . . . . . க்குறு கொடுத்து சாந்த இருக்கமவனு  
மி[க்\*]கச்சம் பிழைச்சான் [II\*] தெவர்க்கு கடங் கொக்கப் பெ  
றார் [II\*]

Translation.

Hail ! Prosperity ! In the month of Kanni of the year in which Jupiter stood in Mithuna, Kannaṇ Puraiyaṇ, the chief of Kālkkarai-nāḍu, and . . . . . together made the following transactions:—

The greatmen who perform worship (*in temples*) shall not place . . . . . unless these given them . . . . . If they fail to perform . . . . . to god . . . . . obtaining loans from the rulers of the country . . . . . shall not be allowed to be incharge of worship. If there be any ruler that so lend money, he shall not be permitted to proceed against the god (*i. e. the temple*) or the servants. Acting in this (prohibited) manner, if any (*person*) causes default in the worship, he shall be considered to have offended against the regulations of Mūlikkaḷam. Any one . . . . . pay this share and perform worship, he shall be regarded to have offended against the regulations of Mūlikkaḷam. None shall lend money to the god (*i. e. the temple*).

No. 42.— An inscription of Bhaskara Ravivarman dated in the 2+4th year of reign.

This inscription in the Vaṭṭeḷuttu alphabet and the Tamil language is engraved at the proper right of entrance on the outside of the south base of the first *prākāra* of the Viṣṇu temple at Tirukkākkarai. But for a few damage spots, the record is in a well preserved condition. It belongs to the time of the Chēra king Bhāskara Ravivarman and is dated in the second opposite to the fourth year (*i. e. the 6th*) of the reign of that king. In this year it is stated that Jupiter was in Rishabha-rāṣi. In the reign of Bhāskara Ravivarman Jupiter was in Rishabha in the years 980, 992, 1004, 1016, 1028 and 1040. None of these dates could be the sixth year of the king's reign. There must, therefore, lie some mistakes either in the citation of the regnal year or in giving the position of Jupiter. If the regnal year had been given correctly and mistake made in assigning the exact position of Jupiter, we would have to correct 'Rishabha' into 'Kanni', on the other hand if the planet had been correctly located, the regnal year 'second opposite the fourth' would have to be corrected into 'the second opposite the twenty-fourth'. In this case, the date of the inscription would be A. D. 1004.

The object of the inscription is to register a gift of money by Kōdai Kēraḷaṇ of Śerumarrappuḷai to the temple of Tirukkākkarai for feeding Brāhmaṇas. The money was received by the temple officials the *ulpāḍaṇ* and the *perumudiyaṇ*: and apparantly entrusted to Dēvaṇ Nārāyaṇaṇ and his three brothers on condition that they supplied as interest, at 10 (per cent), twelve *kalam* of paddy annually.

In case of failure to observe the condition, they were obliged to leave to the temple land yielding fifteen *kalam* of paddy. It may also be noted that in order to meet wastage, one *nāḷi* in excess was also stipulated to be paid.

The donor of this record Kōdai Kēraṇ of Śerumarrappuḷai figures along with his two brothers Kōdai Ayyaṇ and Kōdai Nārāṇ in another inscription of the same king found in the same place.<sup>1</sup> The date of this record as read is '2 + 29, Jupiter in Dhanu' Either the reading 29 is a mistake for 19 or the engraver has committed that mistake. It has also to be pointed out that Kōdai Nārāyaṇ of Śerumarrappuḷai, whom we recognise as one of the brothers of our donor, figures in a still another inscription of the same king from the same place.<sup>2</sup> Here again the date portion is wrong. '2 + 19, Jupiter in Kumbha' is a mistake for '2 + 21, Jupiter in Kumbha'.

The proper names that occur in this inscription are:—

Kōdai Kēraṇ of Śerumarrappuḷai,	
Dēvaṇ Nārāyaṇ	} Brothers
Dēvaṇ Subrahmaṇyaṇ	
Dēvaṇ Śuvākaraṇ and	
Dēvaṇ Śēndaṇ	
Miḷiyappaḷam, Viḷāṅgāḍu, Udaraiḱkuḷi, Iḷaṅguḷam and	
Kumaramaṅgalam among places,	
Taṇivi of Paḷippuram,	
Nārāyaṇ Subrahmaṇyaṇ of Menṇalai,	
Pāṇḍa Nārāyaṇ of Menṇalai,	
Kumaraṇ Śrīkaṇṭhaṇ and	
Kumaraṇ Kuṭṭaṇ,	
Kēśavaṇ Śaṅkaraṇ of Perumaṇaikkōṭṭam, and	
Śaṅkaraṇ Kaṇḍaṇ.	

Of these, Kēśavaṇ Śaṅkaraṇ of Perumaṇaikkōṭṭam figures in epigraph of Indu Kōdai whose date is lost. Paḷippuram occurs in the lines 525 and 526 of the Tiruvalla plates. Iḷaṅguḷam is mentioned in the Pālaiyūr plates as a village belonging to Iriṇṇapuram dēśam.<sup>3</sup> Śerumarrappuḷai is still a village in the Tiru-  
kkākkarai-pakuthi of the Alangad Taluk.

### Text.

1. ஸ்ரீ ஸ்ரீ [11\*] கொப்பாற்கரனிரவிவன்மர்க்குச் செல்லாநின்ற யாண்டு  
இரண்டாமாண்டைக் கெதிர் நாலாமாண்டு இடபத்தில் வியாழந் தி  
[ற்க]க் கர்கடகஞாயிற்றுச் செய்த கருமமாவது [11\*] திருக்காற்க  
ரைப் பட்டாரகருடைய உள்ப்பாடனும் பெருமுதியனும் கய்யால்  
ச் சிறுமற்றப்புழைக் கொதை கொள்ள அமைச்ச அக்கிர ப்பொன்  
4[ற்]பது பழங்காசினொடுகூட பொன் நூற்றிருபதின்முகஞ்  
பொன் [11\*] . . . . அரைக்கால் .

1. *Travancore Archaeological Series*, Vol. II, p. 84.

2. *Ibid*, p. 41 and below No. 43.

3. *Travancore Archaeological Series*, Vol. III, No. 33.

4. The letter in brackets is engraved as an interlineation.



2. மனைஉடைய தெவநாராயணனுந் தெவந் துப்பிரமணியனுந் தெவஞ் சு  
வாகரனு[ந்\*] தெவஞ் செந்நனு மிப் பொன் தூற்றிருபதின் கழஞ்  
சும் [பத்து] ஆரை பொலியால் [ஆ]ட்டும் பந்திருகல நெல் கொ  
ண்டு வந்து சிறுமற்றப்புழைத் தெவ ரிடங்கழியால்க் குடுக்க கடவர்  
[11\*] இப்பொன்னினு பணையம் இளங்குளத்து தங்க நால்வர்க்கு  
முள்ள மிளியப் பழம் விளாங்காடும் உதரைக் கழியும் மற்று . . .<sup>1</sup>
3. நகட்க்குள்ள மிளி பணையம் [11\*] ஆட்டாண்டுஞ் சிறுமற்றப்புழைக்காரெ  
கற்கடகளுயிற்று கொண்டு வந்து கொடா[தொ]ழிகிழ்ப் பதினை  
ங்கலந் நெல் பொரும் பூமி தெவர் மா[னி]டத்தனு விடக்கடவர்  
தெவ நாராயணனு[ம்\*] தெவந் துப்பிரமணியனுந் தெவஞ் சுவா  
கரனுந் தெவஞ் செந்நனு[11\*] மிப் பூமி நெல் கொடாதொழி[கில்]  
தடுத்து கிட . . . ல்லும் முத . . மா . . .
4. க்கு [இவயு] கொவில்லை இப்பூமி மெல் நின்று இப் பொன் கொடுக்கப்  
பெறின் தெவ நாராயணனும் [த]ம்பிமாரு உ[ள்\*]ப்பாடனும் பெ  
ருமுதியனு கொள்ளப்பெறான் [11\*] நெல் நாழி போக்கு கொடுக்க  
கடவர் [11\*] இப்பரி சறியுஞ் சா துக்கள் பள்ளிப்புறத்துத் தனியியும்  
மென்றலை நாராயணந் துப்பிரமணியனுந் கொற்ப
5. பறம்பின் சங்கரங்கண்டனும் மென்றலைப்பாண்ட நாராயணனும் குலைசெ  
கரப்பட்டினத்து சுமரஞ்சிரிகண்டனும் குமரங்குட்டனும் பெரும  
னைக்கொட்டத்து கெசவ[ன்\*] சங்கரனுந் குமாரமங்

### Translation.

Hail ! Prosperity ! In the fourth opposite to the second year which was current in the reign of king Bhāskara Ravivarmaṇ, and which corresponded to the year in which Jupiter was in Rishabha, the following transaction was made:—

Kōḍai Kēraḷaṇ of Śerumarrappuḷai instituted the feeding of Brāhmanas and gave, along with forty old gold *kāśu*, one hundred and twenty *kaḷiṇṇu* of gold, into the hands of the *ulppāḍaṇ* and *perumudiyaṇ* belonging to the god of Tiruk-kālkkarai. Dēvaṇ Nārāyaṇaṇ, Dēvaṇ Subrahmaṇyaṇ, Dēvaṇ Śuvākaraṇ and Dēvaṇ Śendaṇ of Puraikkāvalamaṇai (receiving) this one hundred and twenty *kaḷaṇṇu* of gold, bound themselves to bring and measure, by the *iḍaṇṇaḷi* of Śerumarrappuḷai-dēva, twelve *kalam* of paddy every year, and ten and half interest.

The security<sup>2</sup> for this gold is Miliyappalam-Viḷaṅṅāḍu, and Udaraikkulī as well as other . . . . *mīḷis* belonging to these four (persons) at Iḷaṅṅuḷam. If annually, the people of Śerumarrappuḷai fail to fetch and make over (this) in the Karkātaka month, Dēvaṇ Nārāyaṇaṇ, Dēvaṇ Subrahmaṇyaṇ, Dēvaṇ Śuvākaraṇ and Dēvaṇ Śendaṇ shall have to leave to the representatives of the temple, land yielding fifteen *kalam* of paddy. If this land failed to yield paddy . . . . . and from the land, it shall not be taken by Dēvaṇ Nārāyaṇaṇ and his brothers from the *ulppāḍaṇ* and *perumudiyaṇ*.<sup>3</sup> One *nāḷi* of paddy shall be given for wastage.

<sup>1</sup> The two letters at the end may be ம் த

<sup>2</sup> The word 'panaiyam' is repeated twice.

<sup>3</sup> The meaning of the passage is not clear owing to the gap

The following *sādhus* know this transactions:—Taṇivi of Paḷippuram, Nārāyaṇaṇ Subrahmanyāṇ of Menṇalai, Śaṅkaraṇ Kaṇḍaṇ of Kōṛappaṛambu, Pāṇḍa Nārāyaṇaṇ of Menṇalai, Kumaraṇ Śrīkaṇṭhaṇ and Kumaraṇ Kuṭṭaṇ of Kulāśekhara-paṭṭiṇam, Kēśavaṇ Śaṅkaraṇ of Perumaṇaikkōṭṭam and . . . . Kumaramaṇ-[galaṁ].<sup>1</sup>

**No. 43.— An inscription of Bhaskara Ravivarman dated in the 2 + 29th year of reign.**

This is an inscription dated in the 2 + 29th year of the reign of Bhāskara Ravivarman. It comes from Tirukkākkarai where it is engraved on the outside base of the Śurru-maṇḍapa of the Viṣṇu temple. It has been partially edited in Vol. II Part I. p. 41f. Only 3½ lines of the text had been given there, the rest having been found difficult to decipher.

Regarding the date of the inscription, M. R. Ry., Dewan Bahadur L. D. Swamikkannu Pillai notes that it is equal to A. D. 992, October, when Jupiter's mean longitude was 44°55'. The first regnal year, according to this inscription, falls in A. D. 982, January 7th.

The characters in which the inscription is engraved appear to be much later than the time of Bhāskara Ravivarman. Perhaps it is due to the indifference of the scribe or that the record itself is a copy, though it is not so specifically stated. The large number of spelling mistakes found in it also points to the same end. Among the peculiarities of the language, may be noted the use of *kaḷaiṇṇinnu* for *kaḷaṇṇukku* and '*ulpāḍaṇum perumudiyaṇum kaiyil*' for '*ulpāḍaṇ perumudiyaṇmār kaiyil*'.

Tuppan, Pattanābaṇ and Kēyavaṇ stand for Suppan (a contraction of Subrahmanyāṇ), Padmanābhaṇ and Kēśavaṇ, respectively. *Bhaṭāra* has changed into *Paḷārar* and *manuṣhya* into *māniḍam*. *Varuḡil* is another form of *varin*. It is worthy of note that the official designation *perumudiyaṇ* is used in this record with the name of one of the signatories just as *mugaveṭṭi*, *Tirumandiravōlai* etc.

The object of the inscription is to register a gift of 60 *kaḷaṇṇu* of gold by Kōḍai Nārāyaṇaṇ of Śerumaraṇṇappuḷai, to the temple of Tirukkākkarai-Bhaṭārar, for lamps. The gift amount was invested with Kaṇḍaṇ Nārāyaṇaṇ of Mākkannappalli who was required to supply, by way of interest, to the *ulppāḍaṇ* and the *perumudiyaṇ* the ghee necessary for burning the lamp. It is stated that nothing but ghee should be accepted and that any one who acted contrary to this order should be punished by the assembly of Mūlikkuḷam. In case the capital was returned, it had to be invested on land.

1 The portion left at the end cannot be much. It must have contained the syllables *galaṁ* and the name of the person.

The proper names that occur in this inscription are:—

Kaṇḍaṇ Nārāyaṇaṇ of Mākkaṇṇappalli,  
Kōḍai Nārāyaṇaṇ of Śerumarrappulāi,  
Tuppaṇ Pattanābaṇ of Mākkaṇṇappalli,  
Kēśavaṇ Dēvaṇ of Neydalmaṅgalam,  
Kōḍai Kaṇṇaṇ,  
Mūlikkaḷam and Tirukkākkarai among villages.

Of these, the donor Kōḍai Nārāyaṇaṇ of Śerumarrappulāi figures in two other inscriptions of Bhāskara Ravivarman from the same place.<sup>1</sup> Śerumarrappulāi, Mūlikkaḷam and Tirukkākkarai are villages in the Alangad Taluk Neydalmaṅgalam occurs in an inscription of the same king, dated in the 58th year of reign.<sup>2</sup> The name of a native of this village, which has been partially read in Vol. II, p. 49, may probably be Kēśavaṇ Dēvaṇ, mentioned in the sub-joined record.

Text.

1. வீவதி ஸ்ரீ [||\*] கொச் சிரிபாக்கரனிரவிவன்மர் திருவடிக்குச் செல்லா நின்ற<sup>3</sup> யாண்டு இரண்டா [மா]
2. ண்டைக்கெதிர் இருபத்தொன்பதா மாண்டு கும்பத்துள் வியாழந் நின்ற மகர ஞாயிற்று சிறுமற்றப்புழை
3. கொதை நாரணன் கைய்யால் அறுபதின் கழைஞ்சு செம்பொன் கொண்டான் மாக்கண்ணப்பள்ளி கண்ட நாராய[ணன்] [||\*]
4. இப்பொன் அறுபதின் கழைஞ்[னூன்னு மட்டக்கடங் கொற்றியார் கெழங்கு]
5. . . . . மாக்கண்ண பள்ளினூனு பணை . . . . [||\*] . . . .
6. கழைஞ்ஞினு திருக்காற்கரைப் படாரர்க்கு கொதை நாரண னமைச்ச நந்தாவிளக் . . . . .
7. வாறு நெய் கொண்டுவந்து அளந்து கொடுக்க கடவன் கண்ட நாராயண [||\*] னுள்பாடனும் பெருமுதியனுங் [கையில்]
8. ளந்து கொடு[க்\*] கடவன் [||\*] நெய்[ய\*]ன்றி கொள்வொர் முழிக் களக்களக்கச்சம் [||\*] இப்பரியறியுஞ் சாது-
9. க்கள் நெய்யல்லாதது கொள்வொனாகில் [தன்] பொகத்தொள்ள திருவாராதினை யூட்டுஞ் சாந்திகளா-
10. வொர் மாக்கண்ணப்பள்ளி துப்பம் பத்தபைனு[ம்\*] நெய்தல்மங்கலத்து கெயவம் தெவனு
11. மறிவர் [||\*] பெருமுதியன் கொதை கண்ணெழுத்து [||\*] கண்டநாராயணன் பொன் கொண்டு வருகில்
12. தில பழாரமானிடமுங் கண்ட நாராய[ண]னுங் கொதை நாரணனும் கூடி பூமிமே லிடக்கடவர் [||\*]

1 *Travancore Archaeological Survey*, Vol. II. p. 43, and above No. 42.

2 *Ibid.*, p. 49.

3 y-looks like மா.

## Translation.

Hail ! Prosperity ! In the month of Makara of the year in which Jupiter was in Kumbha and which corresponded to the second year opposite to the twenty-ninth year which was current (in the reign of) the glorious king Bhāskara Ravi-varman-Tiruvadi, Kandaṇ Nārāyaṇaṇ of Mākkannappalli received from the hands of Kōdai Nārāyaṇaṇ of Śeṇumarrappulāi sixty *kaḷaṇḷu* of pure gold. For this (*quantity of*) sixty *kaḷaṇḷu* of gold . . . . as security . . . . . the lands. . . . this gold, Kandaṇ Nārāyaṇaṇ shall bring, measure out and give ghee for . . . . the lamps set up by Kōdai Nārāyaṇaṇ in (*the temple of*) Tirukkākkrai-Bhaṭāra. (*The said ghee*) shall be measured and given into the hands of the *ulpāḍaṇ* and *perumudiyaṇ*. Those who receive anything in lieu of the ghee, shall be subject to the regulations of Mūlikkaḷam. Thus known to the *sādhus viz.* the priests who perform worship in the central shrine, Tuppaṇ Patta-nābhaṇ of Mākkannappalli and Keṣavaṇ Dēvaṇ of Neydalmaṇḡalam. This is the writing (*i. e.* signature) of the *perumudiyaṇ* Kōdai Kaṇṇaṇ. If Kandaṇ Nārāyaṇaṇ brought (*back the*) gold, some of the representatives of the temple, along with Kandaṇ Nārāyaṇaṇ and Kōdai Nārāyaṇaṇ shall invest it on land.

**No. 44.—Tirukkakkarai inscription of the 13th century A. D. mentioning the year 3706.**

From this inscription which is engraved on the south base of the *maṇḍapa* (outside), at the proper right of entrance into the central shrine of the Viṣṇu temple at Tirukkakkarai, we learn that at the time of the record, Jupiter was in Mēsha-rāṣi, and that three thousand seven hundred and six years had elapsed since the consecration of the god. Śāttaṇ Ś...ṇ was then the ruler of the country.

A word about the peculiar way in which the date is expressed becomes necessary; but before giving it we have to note that the palaeography of the inscription shows that it cannot be much earlier than the 13th century A. D. The inscriptions of Tirukkaṇḍiyūr reveal the ancient custom of reckoning time from the date of construction of temples, which might be considered an important local event perhaps coeval with the founding of the city. There are grounds for believing that this system is followed in the dating of the subjoined epigraph also. If it is, the time when the temple came into existence must be taken back to so early a date as 2500 B. C.! If on the other hand, it is to be supposed that by inadvertance the engraver omitted to write the word 'Kali' before 3705 and we supply it, the date portion would mean that on the day of the record, 3705 years of Kali era had passed away and that in the next year which was current, Jupiter was in the sign Mēsha. This leads to the result that the inscription was incised in about the commencing years of the 7th century A. D. and this result, it is needless to point out, is quite at variance with the palaeographical indications. From the passage, as it is

1 The connection of the phrase *Neyy-allādadu koḷvōnāgil tan boḇattoḷḷa* which occurs before *ayatt-ōḷḷa* is not clear.

worded, it is impossible to obtain the fact that the temple was constructed in Kali 3705 or A. D. 603, as noted in the correction slip issued with Part I of Vol. II of the *Travancore Archaeological Series*. At best, from the wording of the date portion, we can only gather that there was a belief or tradition that the temple came into existence 3705 years before (the thirteenth century A. D.). The absurdity as regards facts in this case needs no comment. It has to be noted that none of the earlier inscriptions of the place refers to this belief or cites dates similarly.

*Taruvādiccham* may be a Tamilised form of *sarvādhyaśhya*.

**Text.**

1. ஷ்ஷி ஸ்ரீ [||\*] திருக்கால்க்கரைப் பெருமாள் தர்வ்வாதிச்சஞ் செய்தரு  
ளிச் செல்லாநின்ற மூவாயிரத் தெழுதூற்றைய்யா மாண்டைக் கெ  
திராண்டு மெடத்தில் வியாழந் தின்றக்<sup>1</sup> கன்னிஞாயிற்று கால்க்க-
2. ரைநாடு[ஸை\*] டய சாத்தஞ் சி . . ன் தான் பிறந்ந நாளா

**Translation.**

Hail! Prosperity! In the month of Kanni of the year opposite to the three thousand seven hundred and fifth which was current after the consecration of the god at Tirukkākkarai and which was the year in which Jupiter stood in Mēsha, Śāttaṇ . . . . of Kākkarai-nāḍu . . . on his birth-day.

**No. 45.— Tirukkakkarai inscription of Polan Ravi.**

This inscription is engraved on the east base of the *surru-maṇḍapa* (outside) of the proper right of entrance into the central shrine of the Viṣṇu temple at Tirukkākkarai. In it are registered gifts of certain ornaments made of gold and presented to the god while Pōḷaṇ Ravi was governing the country. The donors were, besides Pōḷaṇ Ravi, Kōḍai Puṛaiyaṇ and Kōḍai Śrīkanṭhaṇ of Veśāli-maṅgalam. Palaeographically, the record may be assigned to the 13th century A. D.

**Text.**

1. ஷ்ஷி ஸ்ரீ [||\*] துலாத்தில் விழ<sup>2</sup> நின்ற கனி<sup>3</sup>
2. ஞாயிற்று பொழன் இரவி நாடுவாழ்க்கையில்<sup>4</sup>
3. கொதை புறையைன்<sup>5</sup> பண்ணிச்[சு\*] கொம்பு இருபதின் கழை-
4. [ஞா]ரு ஒள்ளி அப்பூவு கூட்டி திருக்கால்க்கரைப்

- 1 Read நின்ற.
- 2 Read வியாழன்.
- 3 Read கன்னி.
- 4 Read நாடுவாழ்க்கையில்.
- 5 Read புறையன்.

5. பழராக்கு<sup>1</sup> திருவுடையாடை பண்ணிச்சார்த்திச்ச[ர]-
6. ன் பொழன் னிரவ்வி<sup>2</sup> அயிம்பத்து<sup>3</sup> முக்கழஞ்[னு:]
7. <sup>4</sup>அன்றெ வெசலிமஙத்து<sup>5</sup> கொதை புறையனும்
8. கொதை [பு]கண்டனு கூடி பந்திருகழஞ்[னு] பொன்
9. கொண்டு உதரபந்தநம் பண்ணிச்சார்த்திச்சார்<sup>6</sup>
10. அன்றெ எண் கழைஞ்[னு] பொன் கொண்டுப்பு கலையம்
11. இரண்டு பண்ணி சார்த்திச்சன்<sup>7</sup> பொழன் இரவ்<sup>8</sup>
12. வி [||\*]

### Translation.

Hail! Prosperity! In the month of Kanni of the year in which Jupiter stood in Tulā, while Pōlaṇ Iravi was governing the country, Kōdai Puraiyaṇ made one horn with twenty *kaḷaṇḷju* (of gold); and Pōlaṇ Iravi, adding to it one flower, made a sacred cloth at a cost of fifty-three *kaḷaṇḷju* (of gold) and presented it to the god at Tirukkālkkarai.

On that very day, Kōdai Puraiyaṇ and Kōdai Śrīkanṭhaṇ of Vēśālīmaṅgalam together made an *udarabandhana* with twelve *kaḷaṇḷju* of gold and presented to it (to the god). On that day also, Pōlaṇ Iravi made two flower ornamented pots with eight *kaḷaṇḷju* of gold and presented them (to the god).

### No. 46.— Tirukkakkarai inscription of Keralakesari.

This inscription in the Vaṭṭeḷuttu alphabet and the Tamil language is engraved on the proper left of entrance into the first *prākāra* of the Viṣṇu temple at Tirukkākkarai. The beginning of the inscription is very much damaged; but there is no doubt as regards the name Kēraḷakēsari. It is unfortunate that the portion immediately following the name, is so badly worn as to leave no trace of letters. Kēraḷakēsari might have been one of the ruling chiefs of the country; and the obligation thrown on the officers (*adhikāri*) also indicates it, besides his name. I compared the palaeography of this epigraph with several others and found that it cannot be later than the 10th century A. D.

The object of the inscription is to register a gift of land to the temple at Tirukkākkarai, for meeting the expenses of the various items required for it. No proper names occur in this record.

- 1 Read பழராக்கு.
- 2 Read பொழன்ரவி.
- 3 Read ஐம்பத்து.
- 4 The syllables வ்வி are written above அன்றே.
- 5 Read வெசலிமங்கலத்து.
- 6 Read சார்த்திச்சார்.
- 7 Read சார்த்திச்சன்.
- 8 Delete வ்.

## Text.

1. ஸ்ரீ [||\*] கெரளகெசரிப்பெ[||]ருமா[ள்] . . . . . [கூடி] விச்ச  
. . . . . யும் வெ . . . . . நறயு மிவற்றின்னுள்ள வய  
லுங்கரையுங் கூட வாழ்ந்து நின்று ஆட்டு மிடங்க-
2. ழியா[ல்] இருதாற்று ஒருபத்து நாற்க[ல]நெல் கொடுக்கக் க[ட] . .  
. . . . . [||\*] . . . இருபதின் கலமு காராளன் [ருன்] கொ  
[ண்]டுமற்று தாற்றுத் தொண்ணூற்று நாற்கலந் நெல்லு ம[ள]க்கு  
மிடங்கழியால் நாழி பொக்கு[க்\*]கு-
3. [முள்]ள[து] கொட்டகாரத்தில் உ ல் பணி[யா]விது . . . . . [||\*]  
[இந்நெ]ல் [டு]காண்டு செல்லுஞ் செவ்வாவொ [||\*] திருவமர்  
தின்னு அரி அறுநாழி [||\*] [பூ]தபலிக்கு இருநாழி [||\*] ஒழுக்கவி  
க்கு நாழி [||\*] சாந்திக்கு
4. இருநாழி [||\*] பள்ளித்தாமத்தின்னு நாழி [||\*] [தி]ரு[வ]க்கிர மறுநாழி  
. . . . . நாழி [||\*] அக்கிரமடுவான்னு இருநாழி இலையும் விறகுமிடு  
வான்னு இருநாழி [||\*] அரிசுத்துமவன்னு[ம்\*] எச்சிலடிப்பானு[ம்\*]
5. நாழி [||\*] அக்கிரத்தின்னு[ம்\*] பயற்றின்னு[ம்\*] இருநாழி [||\*] உள்பாட  
ன்னுநாநாழியுங்கூட [||\*] நியதம் முந்நாநாழியால் நாற்பத்தெழு நா  
ழி அரி செல்விது [||\*] திருவமர்தினு நெய்யாழிக்கு திருவிளக்கின்னு
6. நெய் யுரி அக்கிரத்தின்னு நெய் யுரி சந்தனம் படாரர்க்கும் பிராமணர்க்  
கு[ம்\*] பத்து காணம் குக்கில் திருப்புகைக்கு இருகழஞ்சம் தெந்  
கை நாலு புளி நாற்பலம் உப்பு இருநாழி சர்க்கரை உரி
7. வெற்றிலை முப்பத்தாறு அடைக்காய் பந்திரண்டு நூறு [||\*] பெருமுதிய  
ன்மார்க்கு பத்து காணம் ஆராதிக்குமவன்னு பத்துகாணம் விறகிடு  
வான்னு பத்துகாணம் அரிசுத்துவானும் எச்சிலடிப்பானுந் தளி-
8. கை ஆயுவானு மஞ்ச காணம் அக்கிரமடுவானும் பத்து காணம் [||\*] நியி  
த மிவை எல்லாம் [||\*] இச்செலவு முட்டாமைச் செலு[த்]தக் கட  
வர் அதிகாரிகள் [||\*] முட்டுகில் முட்டிரட்டி செலு[த்]தக் கடவர்  
[||\*] அஞ்ச நா-
9. ள் அடுத்து முட்டுகில் படாரர்க்கு பந்திருகழைஞ்சு பொன் <sup>1</sup>றண்டமு  
[ம்\*] பட்டு முட்டிரட்டியொடு செலவுஞ் செலுத்தக் கடவர் அதிகா  
ரிகள் [||\*] இச்செலவின்னுடல்ப் பொருமாறு பூமி கொண்டப்  
பொன் <sup>2</sup>விடக்கடவர் தெ-
10. . . . . [||\*]

## Translation.

Hail ! Prosperity ! Kēralakēsaripperumā ! . . . . together . . . . . pertain-  
ing to these . . . . .

Two hundred and fourteen *kalam* of paddy as measured by the *iḍaṅgaḷi*  
shall be brought annually and given. After taking to himself twenty *kalam* of  
paddy, the *kārāḷaṇ* shall . . . . . the balance of one hundred and ninety four *kalam*

1 The letter ட is shaped like ற.

2 பொண் is evidently a mistake for பொன்.

of paddy as measured by *iḍaṅgaḷi* together with what is required for wastage at (one) *nāḷi* as measured by the *iḍaṅgaḷi* . . . . . for services in the palace (*kōṭṭa-gāram*). The expenses to be met from this (*quantity of*) paddy are:—

six *nāḷi* of rice for sacred offerings; two *nāḷi* for *bhūtabali*; (one) *nāḷi* for *oḷukkavi*; two *nāḷi* for worship; (one) *nāḷi* for garlands; six *nāḷi* for sacred feeding; *nāḷi* for . . . . . ; two *nāḷi* for the person that cooks the *agram*; two *nāḷi* for the person that supplies leaves and firewood; (one) *nāḷi* (*each*) for the persons that husk paddy and remove the refuse; two *nāḷi* for green pulse (*required*) for the *agram*; four *nāḷi* to the *ulppāḍaṇ*— (*thus*) in all forty-seven *nāḷi* of rice as measured by the *munṇānāḷi* shall be expended daily. (One) *āḷakku* of ghee for the sacred offering; (one) *uri* of ghee for the *agram*, ten *kāṇam* of sandal (paste) for the god and the Brāhmaṇas; two *kaḷaṇḷu* of *kukkil* for the sacred incense; four cocoanuts; four *palam* of tamarind; two *nāḷi* of salt; (one) *uri* of sugar; thirty-six betel-leaves; twelve areca-nuts; and lime; ten *kāṇam* for the *perumudiyans*; ten *kāṇam* for the person who performs worship; ten *kāṇam* for the person that supplies firewood; five *kāṇam* (*each*) for the persons who husk paddy, who remove the refuse, and who assort the *taligai*; and ten *kāṇam* for the person who cooks *agram*. All these (*shall be expended*) daily. The *adhikāris* shall pay for all these expenses. In cases of default, double the quantity (*at default*) shall be paid. If default is made for five consecutive days, the *adhikāris* shall, after undergoing a fine of twelve *kaḷaṇḷu* to the god (*Bhaṭāra*), pay for the expenses in addition to the fine of double the defaulted amount. The . . . . . and the *poḍuvāl* shall, after receiving land whose yield is equal in amount to what is required for these expenses return the gold.

#### No. 47.—An inscription of Tirukkakkarai.

This inscription is engraved on the outside of the south base of the *śurru-maṇḍapa* of the Viṣṇu temple at Tirukkākkarai. It is in the Vaṭṭeḷuttu alphabet and the Tamil language. It registers the gift of the *rakṣābhōga* on the village of Taluvaṅkunṇam to the temple, while the officer Aḍigaḷ Māluvaḱkōṇār was present along with the Six-hundred. The donor was a lady. A certain Māluvaḱkōṇ, whose other name was Kaṇḍaṇ Kumaraṇ of Kīḷumalai is mentioned in the Tiruvalla plates<sup>1</sup> (lines 349—360) as the ruler of Neḍumbalā-nāḍu. The plates also mention the body of Six-hundred.

#### Text.

1. ஸ்ரீ ஸ்ரீ [11\*] மிதுனத்தில் வியாழந் நின்ற சிங்கஞாயிற்று அடிகள் மா  
ருவக்கொனார் உள்ளிருந்[து] ஆறுநூற்றுவரும் கூடியிருந்[து] . .  
. . . . . தா மொதிரனெழுவரடியாள் த[மு]வன்
2. குன்றத்தினு [யி]றக்காபொகமாய் திருக்காற்கரைத் தெவர்க் கிருநாழி  
யரித் திருவமிர் தமைச்சாள் [11\*] யிவ்வுரு உள்க்குடி ரக்கிச்சக் குடு  
த்து கொள்ளக் கடவிய[ர்] தெவர் பொதுவாள்மமார் [11\*].



Translation.

Hail! Prosperity! In the month of Simha of the year in which Jupiter stood in Mithuna, Aḍigaḷ Māḷuvakkōṇ and the Six Hundred having met together  
... ..

Dāmōdaraṇ Eḷuvaraḍiyāl assigned *rakshābhōga* on Taḷuvaṇkunṇam to the temple of Tirukkākkarai-Dēvar for a sacred offering of two *nāḷi* of rice. The *po-duvāḷmar* of the temple were bound to protect the tenants of this village and to obtain (*the rakshābhōga*).

No. 48.—Tirumulikkalam inscription of Indu Kodai:  
Regnal year 5 + 1.

The following inscription is engraved on the east base (outside) of the *surru-maṇḍapa* (*i. e.* covered *maṇḍapa*) of the Vishṇu temple at Mūḷikkulām which is one of the ancient Vaishṇava centres of pilgrimage on the west coast. The record is left unfinished but is dated in the year opposite to the fifth (*i. e.* the sixth year of reign) of king Indu Kōdai. It relates to certain arrangements made regarding the conduct of business connected with the temple of Tirumūlikkaḷattu-Appaṇ *i. e.* the God of Tirumūlikkalam; and states (i) that sacred offerings shall be made before twenty-five feet (time) of day (=7. 18 A. M.); (ii) the rice required for sacred offering shall be measured out and given before the five feet (time) of day (=9. 36 A. M.) in the *Śrī-maṇḍapa* and in the presence of the person who performs worship in the temple; (iii) the sacred offering shall be made before noon (iv) for the sacred evening offering, the required quantity of rice shall be measured out at twenty feet (time) afternoon (=4. 24 P. M.); (v) this offering shall be prepared before evening and (vi) for the night offering also the quantity of rice required shall be given before evening. Here it may be noted that item (i) probably relates to the morning twilight offering and that the rice required to be supplied in item (ii) is with reference to the noon offering.

As regards the date of the inscription it may be said that it belongs to the latter half of the 10th century A. D. The grounds for this conclusion are fully set forth in the introduction to No. 35, above, which is also one belonging to the same king.

Among the peculiarities of the language, the following are worthy of note:—

For *pariśāvaḍu* the record uses the form *pariyāvaḍu*. *Sa* is generally changed into *ta* and sometimes into *ya i. e. g.* *Suppaṇ* becomes *Tuppaṇ*, *sannadi* becomes *tannadi*, *samañjitaṇ* becomes *tamañjitaṇ*, *santadi* becomes *tantadi* and *tanna-di*, *pūśam* changes to *pūyam*, and *māsi* into *māyi*, as noted in the previous numbers.

In line 3, *ari* is used for *arisi* dropping the final letter. *Vaittu* has assumed the form *vaichchu* (1. 3). Similar instances of the change of *ta* into *cha* are *Ādichchan*, *amaichcha*, *kēlppichehu*, *adigarichchu* etc. *Tiriññu* (1. 5) comes from *tirindu* after undergoing the change *tiriñju*. In *uttamāgrattiñu* (1. 5) and *tiruvamirdiñu* (1. 7), the dative termination *ku* is replaced by *u*; compare *avannu*, *adinnu* etc. *Āradu* assumes the form *āvidu* (1. 4); *viḍuppadu* is changed into *viḍuppidu* and *kaḍavar* into *kaḍaviyar*. These peculiarities are general to the inscriptions of the west coast.

The derivation of *andi* is of interest. Its original form is *sandhi* which, losing the initial *s*, becomes *andi*. Similar instances are to be noticed in the words *Āvaṇi* and *ōṇam* which are both derived from *śrāvana*; *ēṇi* from *śrēṇi*; *āvanam* from *śrāvana*; *aviṭṭam* from *śravistha*, *āyiram* from *sahasra*. Further examples are: —

*Stuti* = *tudi*; *sthāna* = *tāṇam*; *sthala* = *talam*; *sthalī* = *taḷi*; *āślēsha* = *āyilya*; *āshādhi* = *āḍi*; *śamana* = *amana*.

Emberumāṇ is a term generally used to denote the god and it means 'our Lord' but in the sense of 'persons who perform worship in temples', it is very often met with in the west coast epigraphs. Similarly, the derivation of the word *attālam* as indicating night is also one worthy of note. It may be a compound of *agattu* + *āḷa* 'the sun sinking inside' or *ahas* (*agas*) + *tāḷa* = the day (or the sun) falling. While in this compound the sun's setting is taken to denote the time *i. e.* night, there is another word which denotes the direction of the sun's setting *i. e.* west; this word is *paḍiñāru*, which may be split up into *paḍu* and *ñāyiru* *i. e.* the setting of the Sun.

The phrases *irupatt-aiyy-āḍiyiṇ-muṇṇai*, *aiy-āḍiyiṇ-muṇṇai* and *irubadiy-raiy-āḍiyiṇ-muṇṇai*, show the ancient practice of measuring time by the length of a man's shadow. The practice continues in some parts even at present and the measurement is made in the following manner. If before noon, add six to the number of feet in the shadow and divide hundred by the total: the quotient indicates the time after sun-rise in term of *nāḷigai*. If after noon, add as before six to the number of feet in the shadow and divide hundred by the same: the remainder obtained by subtracting the quotient from 30, gives the time after sunrise in terms of *nāḷigai*. Since  $2\frac{1}{2}$  *nāḷigai* = 1 hour, it is easy to convert the *nāḷigai* into hours, minutes etc.

### Text.

1. ஷ்ஷி ஸ்ரீ [II\*] கொ ஸ்ரீ விந்து கொதைக்குச் செல்லாநின்ற யாண்டு ஐய் யாமாண்டைக் கெதிராமாண்டு திருமுழி-
2. க்களத்தப்பனுடைய ஸ்ரீகாரியஞ் செய்த பரியாவது [II\*] அகத்திருபத் தைய்யடியில் முன்னெ திருவமிர்ந்து செய்யக்-
3. கடவியர் [II\*] அகத்தைய்யடியில் முன்னெ திருவமிர்தின் னரி ஆராதிக் கு மெம்பெருமான் காண ஸ்ரீமண்டபத்துள்வைச் சளவு
4. கொடுக்கக் கடவியர் [II\*] உச்சி அகமெ திருவமிர்ந்து செய்விக்கக் கடவி யர் [II\*] நிவெத்தியம் விடுப் பிதாவி-

5. து உத்தமாக்கிரத்தினு சாத்திரரை யெற்றிக்கொண்டு [11\*] அந்தித் திரு  
வமிர்து உச்சிதிரிஞ்ஞ இரூபதி-
6. ற்றடிக்கு அரி அளக்ககடவி[ய]ர் [11] அந்தியின் முன்னை திருவமிர்து செ  
ய்விக்கவும் கடவியர் [11]
7. அத்தாழத் திருவமிர்தினும் அந்தியின் முன்னை அரி அளக்கக் கடவியர்  
[11] திருவளக்கின் என்னை எம்-
8. பெருமானைக் காட... ..<sup>1</sup>

Translation.

Hail ! Prosperity ! In the year opposite to the fifth of the year which was current in the reign of king Indu Kōdai, the following arrangement was made regarding the sacred business of the god (*Appan*) of Tirumūlikkaḷam:—

The sacred offering shall be made before the twenty-five feet (time) of day. Before five feet (time) of day the rice (required) for the sacred offering shall be brought to the *śrīmanḍapa* and measured out and given in the presence of the person who performs worship (in the temple). The offering shall be made (to the god) before (the sun is right) over head. The *nairēdya* (*i. e.* the rice offered to the god) shall be let out (*i. e.* spent) for feeding sumptuously the students (*śāttirar*). The rice required for the sacred evening offering shall be measured at twenty feet (time) after noon. Before the evening twilight, the sacred offering shall be made. And for the sacred night (*attūḷam*) offering also, rice shall be measured before twilight. The oil (required) for sacred lamps . . . . . the person who performs worship.

No. 49.—An inscription from the Bhagavati temple at Kumaranallur.

This important inscription is engraved on the north wall of the *nāḷambalam* of the Bhagavatī temple at Kumāranallūr, a village in the Ettimanur taluk of the Kottayam Division, Travancore State. It records certain regulations made in respect of criminal offences such as meddling with the constitution of the assembly of *ūrār*, unlawful entry into privates and communal properties, employing abusive language and causing hurt or death. It prohibits the *ūrār* from increasing the members of the assembly or dispersing them, from stopping the expenses of temples, from entering on communal lands on the banks of tanks, from trespassing on the premises of houses, compounds and lands, from intimidating the tenants or ejecting them unlawfully. The penalty imposed for the commission of such prohibited actions is expulsion from the *sthānam*, the assembly (*paraḷai*) and the judiciary (*aṟam* which stands for the *dharmāsana*). It lays down that the *ūrār* should report the yield of every harvest to the temple authorities and that on occasions of festivals all should meet. Further, it records that if a Śūdra talked contemptuously of a Brāhmaṇa he should be liable to pay a fine of 12 *kāṇam* of

1 The record is incomplete.

gold; and if he hit him with an arrow, he should be liable to pay a fine of double the amount *i. e.* 24 *kāṇam* of gold; and that if a Śūdra abused another Śūdra, he should pay a fine of 6 *kaḷaṇju* of gold; and that if he caused his death, he should be fined double the amount *i. e.* 12 *kaḷaṇju* of gold. The amount realised by these fines should go to the temple of the goddess (Bhaṭāriyār). It is said that the *ūrālar i. e.* the officers of State should not interfere when fines are being realised from persons who have entered on the villages of Venbōli-naḍu and caused good or bad to the people. From the houses of persons who have transgressed the regulations laid down in this inscription, *bhikṣhā* should not be taken. This means that such persons should suffer social ostracism. These persons, it is said, should further be regarded as coming under the class of persons who have offended the good men belonging to the *oḷukkavi* of Mūlikkuḷam and be liable to the payment of a fine of 100 *kaḷaṇju* of gold to the king (Perumāṇadigal). If the fines were made in favour of the goddess, the inscription would have used the term Bhaṭāriyār as in line 11.

*Turvāyagam* is the Tamilised form of *durvāchakam*. It would correspond to *apavāda*<sup>1</sup> of Yājñavalkya and Manu's *avachanīya-vāda*<sup>2</sup>. It is worthy of note that according to Kauṭilya, if the persons abused happen to be of superior rank, the amount of fines should be doubled; and if of lower rank, it should be halved.<sup>3</sup> Yājñavalkya<sup>4</sup> has

प्रातिलोम्यापवादेषु द्विगुणात्रिगुणा दमाः ।

वर्णानामानुलोम्येन तस्मादर्धार्धहानितः ॥

It may not be incorrect to take *durvāyagam-paraiḡil* (1. 9) as a synonym of *kuraikkil* (1. 10); and *śarattandam* (1. 9f) as an equivalent of *kolḡil* (1. 11). According to some authorities, a *kāṇam* is equal to the weight of 3 *kaḷaṇju*; and according to some epigraphs, it appears that it is of lesser weight than *kaḷaṇju*.<sup>5</sup> *Aṛam* is the Tamil for *dharma* and it stands in the inscription for *dharmāsana* or *aṛaṅkūravai* which, as explained in the *Śilappadigāram* and its commentary by Āḍiyārkunallār is the court where judges assemble, hear cases, discuss law and render out justice. Inscriptions sometimes state that the fines imposed on offenders should be paid in the court of justice. Compare

இதுக்கு விரோயஞ் செய்தாரை யஜாதந்தெ இருபத்தைங்  
கழைஞ்சு பொன் மன்றவொட்டி குடுத்தொம்

Uttaramallūr.

இதற்றிறம்பில் யஜீலாநத்து நிசதி பன்னிருகாணம் தண்டம்

Tiruvorriyūr inscriptions.

1 Vyavahārādhyāya, v. 207.

2 Ch. VIII. v. 262.

3 Arthasāstra, Ch. XVIII. p. 244.

4 According to the latter authority, if a Śūdra (*śakajati*) commits the above-said offence against any one of the twice-born classes, he shall have his tongue cut off (Ch. VIII. v. 270).

5 See Dr. Gundert's Malayalam Dictionary under *kāṇam*.

6 Travancore Archæological Series, Vol. II. p. 46.

As in this inscription, which states that persons who transgress the law should not get a seat in the *sthāna*, *paraḍai* (*i. e. parishad*) and *aṟam*, that is they shall not be eligible to become a member of the *sthānam*, the assembly or the judiciary, a record of Bhāskara Ravivarman also lays down a similar penalty.<sup>1</sup>

We have now to give short notes on some of the terms that occur in this inscription.

*Mukkālvattam*; This is a term used in the early epigraphs of the Malabar country to denote temples, which in ancient times were circular in shape and made of stone. The temple should have been called by the term *mukkālvattam* by the fact of its being covered to the extent of three-fourths of a circle, the other quarter remaining open to serve as entrance.

*Paḍiṇarumār*; As the name indicates, this must refer to a committee or body of sixteen persons. The adjunct *mukkālvattatu* which precedes it shows that that body was connected with the temple, perhaps in the capacity of managers or supervisors of its property. It is not unlikely that they formed the *sthānam* or were the *sthānattār*.

*Aganāligai*; This term refers to the central shrine or *garbhagriha*; and it corresponds to *unnāligai* of other inscriptions; *agam* and *uḷ* convey the same idea, '*i. e. within, inner*', and *nāligai* denotes a shrine.

*Vevvērṇuvagai*; This occurs also in the form *meyvēṇṇuvagai* or *veyvēṇṇuvagai*. *Mey*, whose variant is *vey*, means 'body, person or individual'; and hence the term means 'individually or separately'.

*Idaiyīḍu*; This term occurs in the Māmbaḷḷi plates of Śrīvallabhangōdai in two places viz. "*Ayirūr mukkālvattamum paṭṭāragarkkulla idaiyīḍum*" (11. 11f and 17f); and the passage under reference is only a reproduction of the phrase "*Ayirūr mukkālvattam paṭṭāragarkkolla pūmiyum*" mentioned in line 6, with which it agrees in sense. As such, *idaiyīḍu* must stand for the land, which was obtained by the donor *i. e.* Umaiyaṁmai from the king and given to the temple of Ayirūr. Therefore, it will be correct to say that *idaiyīḍu* is the term employed to denote a land, the ownership of which had been transferred from the State to another. And the person, who obtained gift of such lands, would be called an *idaiyīḍan*. Doubt may arise as to whether a land that was granted by the king to another (for instance Umaiyaṁmai in the Māmbaḷḷi plates) was called *idaiyīḍu* while it was under her possession or whether it should be called *idaiyīḍu* only when it was transferred a second time to a third party (in this case the temple of Ayirūr). The question is answered in the inscription itself in favour of the first alternative when it says that "neither the *ūrāḷar* nor the *idaiyīḍar* could enter on the land, eject (the tenants) and receive incomes or dues". Here *ūrāḷar* stands for the officers acting on behalf of the king who had, previous to the grant, the right to do all that are now expressly prohibited; and *idaiyīḍar* stands for the

persons acting on behalf of the first donee (*i. e.* Umaiymmai) who must have also had similar powers when the land was in her possession. Thus, it is plain that *idaiyīḍar* cannot refer to the persons acting on behalf of the temple, for, to them the prohibitions cannot apply, being made in their favour. It has been suggested that "a piece of land, placed under the management of a person, was called *kīḷiḍu* with reference to that person and that if this person sublet it to a third party, the person subletting was the *idaiyīḍan i. e.* he was the middleman between the owner of the property and the sub-tenant". If, as here contended, the land was called a *kīḷiḍu* when it was transferred for the first time to Umayammai and became an *idaiyīḍu* only when she sublet it to the temple, it will be completely offending to the sense of the inscription; for it is expressly stated that the land, after it was obtained from king Śrīvallabhangōdai and granted to the temple of Ayirūr, was placed under the management of the *poduvāl* as a *kīḷiḍu* of the temple of Tiruchcheṅṅunrūr. It is clear from this that the term *kīḷiḍu* was applied to the land only at the time of the third transfer. In the subjoined inscription, *illangaludaiya kīḷiḍu* must refer to the lands granted by the king in favour of the *illams*.

The inscription is not dated in any era, but the year is marked as one in which Jupiter was in Kanni. The palæography of the record shows that it cannot be earlier than the middle of the 13th century A. D.

Among the peculiarities of language may be mentioned the use of the case termination *iḷ* for *uḷ* in such words as *illāttavaril* (1. 17) *piḷaichchōril* (1. 15) *iḍattil* (1. 6); the double plural in *avagalmar* (1. 11) and the plural form *patina-rumār* for *patinaruvar*. "*Irukūru paraiya*" (1. 13) is probably an equivalent of "*irandu solla*" "to contradict, to act or say against". The derivation of *adarañjey* is not clear: it seems to be used in the sense of 'obstructing'. *Vāyagam* stands for *vāchakam* "utterance"; and "*koyttu*" means "crop or harvest".

### Text.

1. ஸ்ரீ [11\*] கன்னியுள் வியாழந் நின்ற யாண்டு குமாரநல்லூர் ஊ[ர  
க]ள் முக்கால்வட்டத்து கூடி அவிர்ராதத்-
2. தால் செத<sup>1</sup> கச்சமாவது [1\*] முக்கால்வட்டத்து வைச்ச கூட்டவும் கலய்  
க்கமும்<sup>2</sup> [செ]லவும் பெரூர் [11\*] முக்கால்-
3. வட்டத்துப் பதினறுமா[ர்] வசத்தும்<sup>3</sup> சென்று கொய்த்தாலொள்ளது  
சொல்லிக்கொள்ளக் கடவியர் [11\*] ஊரார் அகநாழிகை-
4. ச் செலவு விலக்கவும் பெரூர் [11\*] காயத்தானத்தாலொடு ஒற்றைப்படிச்  
செயிடைய் மெற்படி யூர்ச்<sup>4</sup> சிறை-
5. யிடைய் ம[னை] வெலியகத்து சென்று அதரஞ்செயப் பெரூர் [11\*] வெவ்  
வெற்று வகையால வரும் விர-
6. [த]த்தினுக்கு எல்லாருஞ் செல்லக் கடவியர் [11\*] புரையிடத்தின்ச்<sup>5</sup>  
சென்று அதரஞ்செய்யுமவகளும்

1 Read செய்த.

2 Read கலைக்கவும்.

3 ம் is entered below the line.

4 மேற்படி is expressed by a symbol.

5 Read புரையிடத்தின்.

7. [ஞா]யமில்லாத<sup>1</sup> புமி<sup>2</sup> விலக்குமவ[ர்க\*]ளும் அவ[ர்\*]களுக்கு அனுபந்  
தஞ்செய்யுமவ[ர்\*]களும் தா-
8. னமும் பரடையும் அறமும் பெறார் [ஈ\*] ஊர்க் கிடையிடுங் கெடுவிது [ஈ\*]  
ஊரகத்துக் குடியிருக்குஞ் கு-
9. த்திரர் பிராமணரைய் துர்வ்வாயகம் பறைகில்ப் பந்திரண்டு காணம் பொ  
ன் குடுப்பிது [ஈ\*] சர-
10. த்தண்டஞ் செய்கில் இரபத்து நாலு காணம் பொன் குடுப்பிது [ஈ\*] கு  
த்திரன் சூத்திரனைக் குறைக்கில் அ-
11. று கழைஞ்சு பொன் குடுப்பிது [ஈ\*] கொல்கில் பந்தரு<sup>3</sup> கழைஞ்சு பொன்  
குடுப்பிது [ஈ\*] இப்பொன் படாரியா-
12. ர் கொள்விது [ஈ\*] வெண்பொலிநாடு வாழுமவ[ர்\*]கள்மாரிடம் ஊரகத்து  
சென்றொரு நன்று திங்கு செய்கில் தெ-
13. [ண்]டங் கொள்ளும் பொழுது ஊராளர் இரு[கூ]று பறையப் பெறார்  
[ஈ\*] இக்கச்சம் பிழைப்பிச்சவ ரில்ல-
14. த்து பிச்சைபுகப் பெறார் [ஈ\*] இக்கச்சம் பிழைச்சவர் முழிக்களத் தொ  
ழுக்கவிச்ச[ா]-
15. ன்றாரை பிழைச்சோரின்ப<sup>4</sup> படுவிது [ஈ\*] இக்கச்சம் பிழைச்சவரும் பி  
ழைச்சவர்க் கனுபந்தஞ்-
16. செய்யுமவ[ர்\*]களும் வெவ்வெற்றுவகையால்ப் பெருமானடிகள்க்கு தூ  
ற்றுக் கழைஞ்சு செய்து
17. பொன் தண்டம் குடுக்க கடவியர் [ஈ\*] ஊராண்மையில்லாத்த[வ]ரின்<sup>5</sup>  
<sup>6</sup>இக்கச்சம் பிழைப்பொர் யில்-
18. [ல]ங்களுடைய இடையிடு அகநாழியைச் செலவினொ டொக்கும் [ஈ\*]

Translation.

Hail ! Prosperity ! In the year when Jupiter stood in Kanni, the *ūrār* of Kumāranallūr having assembled in the temple (*mukkālvattam*) made unanimously the following arrangements:—

(The *ūrār*) shall not be allowed to add<sup>7</sup> (or assemble), disperse<sup>8</sup> or receive payment<sup>9</sup> in the temple. The quantity of (each) harvest should be reported to the temple and 'the sixteen'. The *ūrār* shall not prevent the defraying of the temple (*aganāḷigai*) expenses. Along with the *sthānattār* they shall not enter on the Orrappaadichchey as well as the houses and fields situated near the tank of

1 Read மில்லாது.

2 Read பூமி.

3 Read பந்திரு.

4 Read பிழைச்சோருள்.

5 Read தவருள்.

6 The letters க்க are entered below the line.

7 The subject and object of the verbs கூட்டவும் and களைக்கவும் are not given; and in their absence it is not possible to know what is exactly meant. If the subject is *ūrār*, கூட்டவும் may be taken to mean to "assemble" or "add to the number of members". But it is difficult to know why the *ūrār* were not allowed to assemble in the temple which was generally the place of their meeting for transacting business.

8 The reading may also be குறைக்கவும் 'to subtract or lessen'.

9 If the reading intended is "*agelavum*" which may be corrected into "*agalavum*" the meaning would be 'to leave (the assembly)'.

the said village and cause obstruction.<sup>1</sup> On the occasion of different festivals, all shall attend. Those who, entering upon gardens attached to houses, cause obstruction, those who, unjustly eject one from his lands, and those who abbet them, shall not be allowed a place in the *sthānam*, in the assembly or the judiciary. Their tenancy rights shall also become void. If the Śūdras living in the village use contemptuous language against the Brāhmaṇas, they shall (*be liable to*) pay (*a fine of*) twelve *kāṇam* of gold. If they commit capital crimes, they shall pay twenty four *kāṇam* of gold. If a Śūdra abuse another Śūdra, he shall pay six *kaḷaṇju* of gold. If he causes death, he shall pay a fine of twelve *kaḷaṇju* of gold. The gold (realised by fines) shall be taken by the goddess (Bhaṭāriyār). At the time of realising fines from the inhabitants of Venṇoli-nāḍu, on occasions when they enter upon the village and cause good or bad, the *ūrālar* (*i. e.* the officers) shall not (be allowed to) say anything against (the procedure). *Bhikshā* shall not be taken in the houses of those who transgress this arrangement. Those who act against this arrangement shall be included among such as offend against the good men belonging to the *olukkavi* of Mūlikkaḷam. Those who transgress this arrangement and those who abbet such transgressors, shall individually be bound to pay a fine of (one) hundred *kaḷaṇju* of pure gold to the god. The *iḍaiyīḍu* pertaining to the *illams* of such of the transgressors of this arrangement who have no *ūrāṇmai* right shall be taken over by the temple (*aganāḷigai*).

#### No. 50.—An inscription from the Siva temple at Tiruvarruvay.

This inscription in the Vaṭṭeluttu alphabet and the Tamiḷ language is engraved on the north base of the *maṇḍapa* in front of the central shrine in the Siva temple of Tiruvārruvāy at Tiruvalla, Quilon division of the Travancore State. The date of the inscription is 'Jupiter in Mithuna, Kumbha month. The palæography of the record shows that it must belong to the 13th century A. D.

It registers a gift of money (*achchu*) for bathing the god of Tiruvārruvāy with ghee, for feeding and offering and for paying the person who performs worship. Tiruvārruvāy is a very ancient place and figures in two copper-plate grants viz. one of the time of the Chēra king Rājasekhara of about the 9th century A. D. (Vol. II. pp. 8ff) and the other of Mūvidattumērchēri illam (Vol. II. pp. 85ff) of the time of another Chēra king Sthānu Ravi of about the last quarter of the 9th century. Both register gifts made in favour of the Siva temple at Tiruvārruvāy, a place in the vicinity of Tiruvalla. This place has to be differentiated from Tiruvārrā a temple near Kōṭṭayam. There was a village assembly (*sabhā*) in it in early days. Ḥamaṇ, one of the places mentioned in the subjoined inscription, figures in the Huzur plates of Tiruvalla, line 366.

#### Text.

1. ஸ்ஷத்தி ஸ்ரீ [||\*] மிதின வியாழத்தில் சும்பஞாயற்றில்ச் செய்த ஸ்ரீகாரிய  
மாவிது [||\*] மெச்செரி வெங்கடவன் னடிகள் ந[ம்]பியும்<sup>2</sup>

1 The meaning of this clause is not clear. The translation given is only tentative.

2 The letter ம is an interlineation.



2. இளமண்<sup>1</sup> தெவநாரா[ய\*][ண்]னு[ம்\*]<sup>2</sup> கூடி திருவாற்றுவா[ய்] திருநெய்யாடுவான் வச்ச அச்ச நால்பத்திருண்டு<sup>3</sup> [||\*] எம்பெருமக்கள் ளிருவர் [கை]யிலு[ம்\*] கொடுத்த-
3. த்த<sup>4</sup> அச்சினு பொலிகொண்டு இடங்முதியால் முந்நாழி உழக்கு நெய்யாடுவு<sup>5</sup> உழக்கனல் பதி-
4. னாழி நிவெடி<sup>6</sup>[த்\*]தினு அரிபுற மிரிநாழி அரி எம்பெருமக்களுக்கு அறுவர் ஊட்டுவு<sup>5</sup> [||\*] முட்டுகில் விரட்டி [||\*] இவச் சிருந்நவன் விமுகாறெடத்து<sup>6</sup> எப்பிச்ச கொடுப்புவரின்றவ<sup>7</sup>.

## Translation.

Hail ! Prosperity ! The following (is) the sacred transaction made in the year when Jupiter was in Mithuna:—

Vēṅgaḍavaṇ Adigaḷ-Nambi of Mērchchēri and Dēvaṇ Nārāyaṇaṇ of Iḷamaṇ gave together forty-two *achchu*, for bathing the god of Tiruvāṇṇuvāy with ghee. With the interest accruing from these *achchu*, deposited in the hands of the two persons performing worship in the temple, there (shall be supplied), three *nāḷi* and (one) *uḷakku* of ghee, (as measured) by the *iḍaṅgaḷi*, for the bathing of (the god); ten *nāḷi* of rice, (as measured) by the *uḷakku*, for offering; two *nāḷi* of rice, out of the balance rice, shall be for the persons performing worship; and (with the rest) six persons shall be fed. In (case of) default, double the defaulted amount (shall be given). The person who keeps these *achchu* shall entrust the quantity (of ghee and rice) to the persons who conduct the Vishu (festival).<sup>8</sup>

## No. 51.—An inscription of the Vishnu temple at Tirupptisaram.

This unfinished inscription in Tamil characters is engraved on the west base of the second *prākāra* of the Vishṇu temple at Tiruppatīsāram. Its interest consists in informing us that Viḷiṇam was renamed Rājēndraśōlapattiṇam and continued to be called by that name at so late a time as the date of the record *viz.* Kollam 304.

Tiruppatīsāram is a village in the Tōvāḷai taluk of the Padmanābhapuram division and is famous for its Vishṇu temple which is celebrated in the songs of the Nāḷayiraprabandham. The name of the village figures as Tiruppatīsāram in the inscription and Tiruvanpartśāram in the Vaishṇava scriptures.

1 Cancel ஂ after இளமண்.

2 The letter ண் is an interlineation.

3 Read நாற்பத்திருண்டு.

4 For கொடுத்த read கொடுத்த.

5 நெய்யாடுவு and ஊட்டுவு are used in the sense of நெய்யாடுவதற்கு and ஊட்டுவதற்கு.

6 Read விஷு-காரரிடத்து.

7 There is some error in the incising of the last six letters.

8 It looks as if the expenses are in connection with Vishu celebrations.

## Text.

1. கொல்லம் நாச மாண்டு திருப்பரிசாரத்து<sup>1</sup> வீற்றிருந்தருளிக எம்பெரு  
மா[னு]க்கு விழிஞ்மார இராஜே[ரு]சொழபட்டணத்து வியாபாரி  
னாதன்செட்டி<sup>2</sup>

## Translation.

In the Kollam year 304, Nādaṇṣeṭṭi, a merchant of Viliṇam *alias* Rājēndraśōlapaṭṭiṇam . . . . . to the god (*Emberumāṇ*), who was pleased to remain in the temple at Tiruppatisāram.

## No. 52.—Rock inscription of Tiruvidaikkodu.

This inscription is engraved on a rock lying to the south of the second *prākāra* of the Śiva temple at Tiruvidaikkōḍu. It is in the Vaṭṭeḷuttu alphabet and the Tamil language. The Grantha letters used in it are *Svasti śri Paramēśvara dēvādīdēvā* in line 1. The record is not dated in any particular era; it was engraved in the month of Vṛiśchika of the year in which Jupiter was in Vṛiśchika-rāśi. Neither does it mention the reigning king of the day. But judging from the Grantha characters used, it might be assigned to the beginning of the 10th century A. D. It registers a gift of land, made by Ōmāya-nāḍu-kilavaṇ *alias* Ūrvēḷaṇ, on behalf of the chief of Ōmāya-nāḍu, for sacred lamps and offerings to the temple of Tiruvidaikkōṭṭu-Mahādēva in Marudattūr. The last mentioned place may be identified with Idaimaruvattūr in the Ālūr Pakuthy of the Eraniel Taluk in which Tiruvidaikkōḍu is situated.

Ōmāya-nāḍu occurs also in a copper-plate inscription of the Āy chief Karunandaḍakkaṇ.<sup>3</sup>

## Text.

1. ஸ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ [॥\*] வாஸெய்யு<sup>4</sup> ஷெ[வா]ழிஷெ[வா][ய\*]
2. விரிச்சிகத்தில் வியாழ-
3. நின்ற யாண்டு மிரிச்சிக<sup>5</sup> ஞாயி-
4. ந்று மருத[த்தூ]ர் திரு[விடை]ய்[க்கொ]ட்-
5. [டு மாதெ]வ்[க்\*]கு ஒமாயநாட்டரைய[னை]-
6. ச்சார்[த்\*]தி ஒமாயநாடுகிழவனாயி-
7. ன ஊர் வெளான் திருநந்தாவி[ளக்]-
8. [கொ]ன்று செல்வதாகவும் நாட்டி[ரு]-

1 பப் is written as a group.

2 The inscription is left unfinished.

3 Travancore Archæological Series, Vol. I. pp. 5 and 12.

4 After ரு there is a symbol which may stand for a punctuation mark.

5 Read விரிச்சிக.



9. வமிர்த்தினக்காகவும்<sup>1</sup> அட்டின பூ-
10. மிய் மருதத்தூர் தாமரைக்குளத்தி-
11. ன்கிழ்ச் சடா திரப்பெறையு<sup>2</sup> [உ]ச்ச-
12. ய்க்கு நாலொன்று பொக இறை நிக்கி
13. மிக்கதா விலைவாரமும் தொட்டி-
14. கொட்டறையும் தொட்டிகொட்டறை[யு]-
15. ம்<sup>3</sup> வாகைத்துடவலு மிவைப் தடி மூ-
16. ன்று மிவயிற்றுள்படு சல்லி-
17. த்துடவரு<sup>4</sup> மிவை தெவர்க்கு தானமா-
18. க ஒரு நந்தாவிளக்கு நாட்டிருவமி-
19. ர்தினுக்குஞ் செல்வதாக அட்டிக்-
20. குடுத்தன [u\*]

Translation.

Hail! Prosperity! To Paramēśvara the god of gods. In the month of Vriśchika of the year in which Jupiter was in Vriśhika-rāṣi, Ōmayanāḍukiḷavan alias Ūrvēḷāṇ, acting on behalf of the lord of Ōmāya-nāḍu, gave for maintaining one sacred lamp and for supplying daily sacred offerings to the temple of Tiruvidai-  
kkōṭṭu-Mahādēva at Marudattūr, the land (called) Jaṭādirapperai (situated) to the east of Tāmaraikkūḷam in Marudattūr, the balance (of another land),—after deducting from it one fourth (which had been) assigned for (the requirements of) the mid-day (worship),—*viz.* Ilaivāram, Toṭṭikoṭṭarai, Vāgaittuḍaval, together comprising three *taḍi* (in extent), and Śallittuḍaval included in this (*i. e.* the above said) lands. These lands were given as free gift to the god, for (maintaining) one sacred lamp and for conducting daily sacred offerings.

No. 53—Another rock inscription of Tiruvidaikkodu.

The subjoined inscription is engraved on a rock on the south side of the second *prākāra* of the Śiva temple at Tiruvidāikkōḍu. It is in the Vaṭṭeḷuttu alphabet and the Tamil language; and registers the gift of a piece of land in Kaṭṭimāṇkōḍu in Kuṇṁbūrkaṇṇu of Nāñji-nāḍu, for offerings to the temple of Mahādēva at Tiruvidāikkōḍu. The sowing capacity of the land was twelve *kalam* of seed. The donor was Vīrapāṇḍiya Aṇkuḍivēḷāṇ.

Tiruvidāikkōḍu and Kaṭṭimāṇkōḍu are villages in the Eraniel Taluk of the Padmanābhapuram division.

- 1 Read வமிர்த்தினக்காகவும்
- 2 Read பெறையும்.
- 3 The word தொட்டிக்கொட்டறையும் is repeated twice.
- 4 Read துடவலு.
- 5 Read வினக்கினுக்கு.

## Text.

1. ஷஷி ஸ்ரீ [11\*] திருவிடைக்கொ-
2. ட்டு மாதெவர்க்கு விரபா-
3. ண்டிய ஆன்குடி வெ-
4. ளான் விட்ட பூமி நாஞ்-
5. சிநாட்டு குண்பூர்க்காவில்
6. கட்டிமாஞ்ஞாடு நிலம்
7. பன்னிருகலம் நித்த தி-
8. ருவமிது நானாழி [11\*]

## Translation.

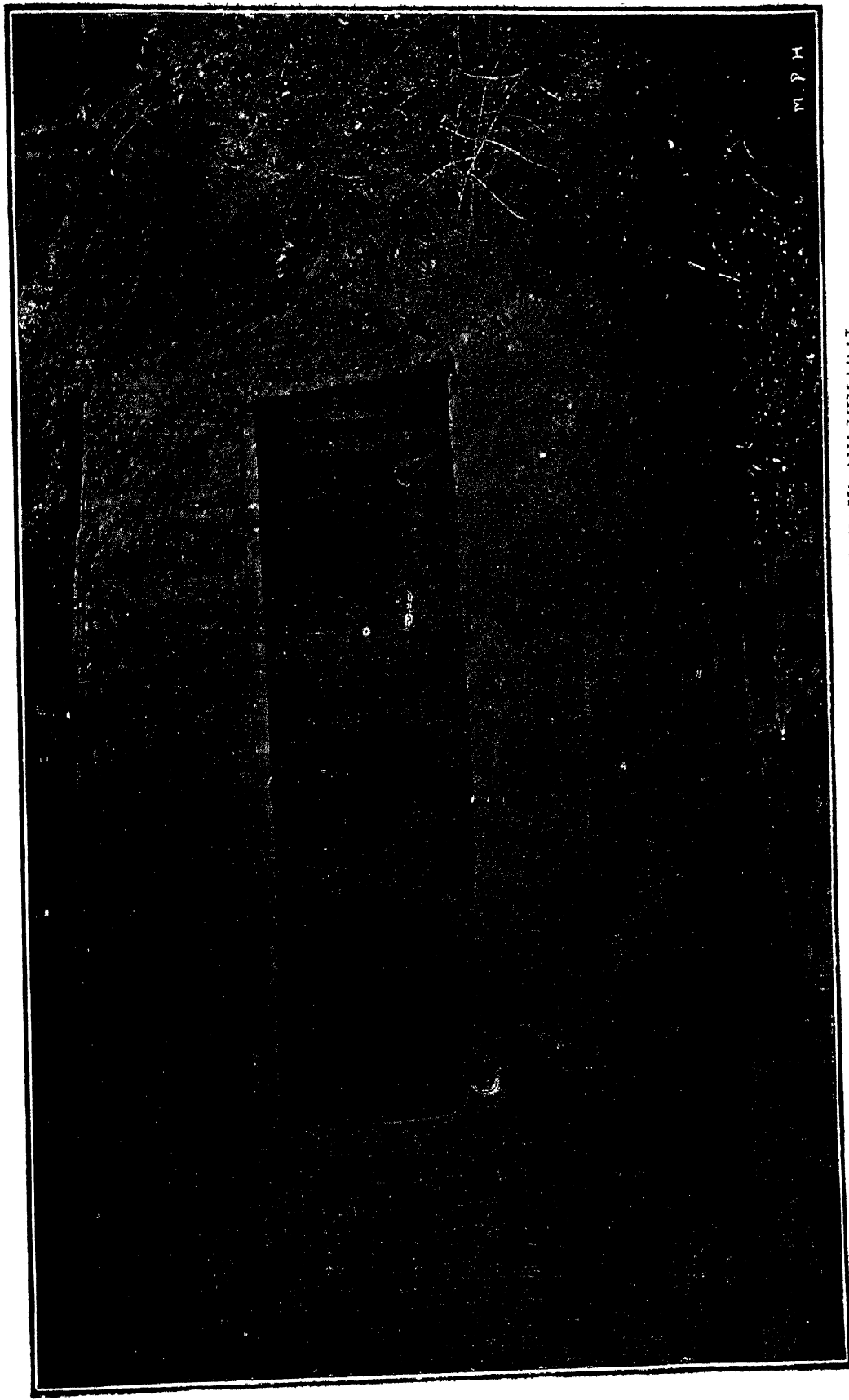
Hail ! Prosperity ! Vīrapāṇḍiya-Āṅkuḍivēḷāṇ gave land (having a sowing capacity) of twelve *kalam* (of seed) in *Kaṭṭimāññōḍu* in *Kunbūrkaṇṇu* of *Nāñji-nāḍu*, to the (temple of) *Mahādēva* at *Tiruviḍaikkōḍu*, for a daily sacred offering of four *nāḷi* of rice.

## No. 54.—Inscription of the rock-cut cave at Tirunandikkarai.

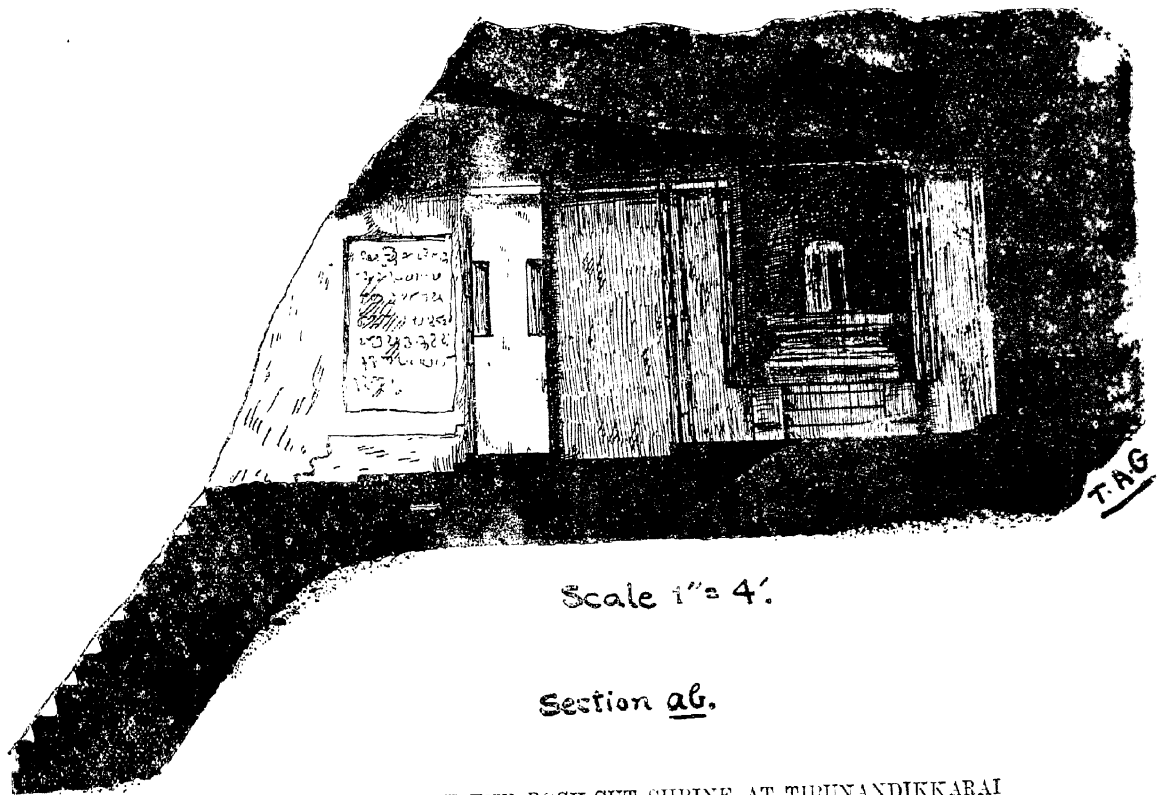
Though Tirunandikkarai is a petty village in the Kalkulam Taluk of the Padmanabhapuram Division, it contains very early antiquities. It is situated at a distance of 11 miles from Kulitturai and is noted for its rock-cut temple dedicated to Śiva and a structural monument also of the same god.

The rock-cut temple is excavated on the southern slope of a hill which lies east-west, walling off the village on the north side. At the western extremity of this cave is a cell facing the east and containing a *Śiva-linga* fixed to an *āvaḍai*. In front of it is a hall measuring 18 feet in length and 8 feet 3 inches in width. The cell, which opens into the hall, is slightly raised and has a flight of three steps. The south side of the hall contains a verandah which is somewhat lower in level and measures 19 feet 3 inches in breadth. It has two free pillars in the centre and two half pillars at the ends. While the western pillar is at a distance of 5 feet from the west edge, the eastern pillar is 4 feet 9 inches from the other end, the distance between the two pillars being 4 feet 9 inches. Each of the pillars is divided into three parts; at the base, which is four-sided, it measures 1' 11" by 2' 11"; in the middle, which is hexagonal, each face measures 10½' by 2' 2". A modern brick wall, provided with a door and window, converts the hall, verandah and the cells at the western extremity, into a closed chamber.

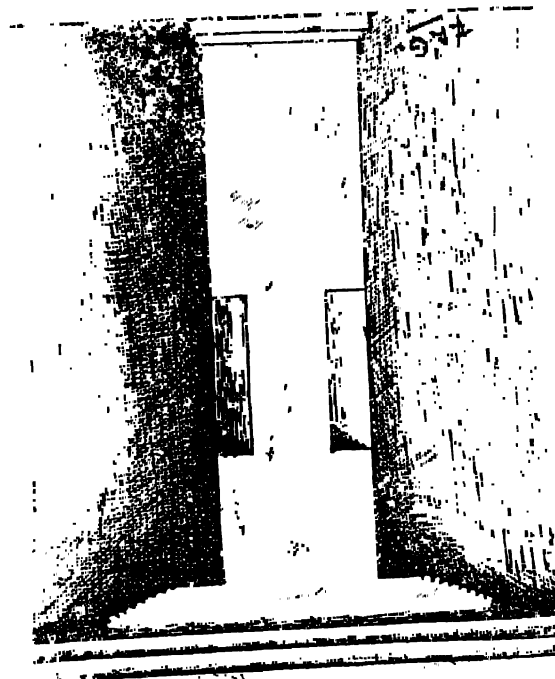
There are four inscriptions in all in this rock-cut cave, one on each side of the entrance and one on each side of the free pillars. Of these, the epigraph at the west entrance has been edited already in Volume I, page 292. The other three records are published below.



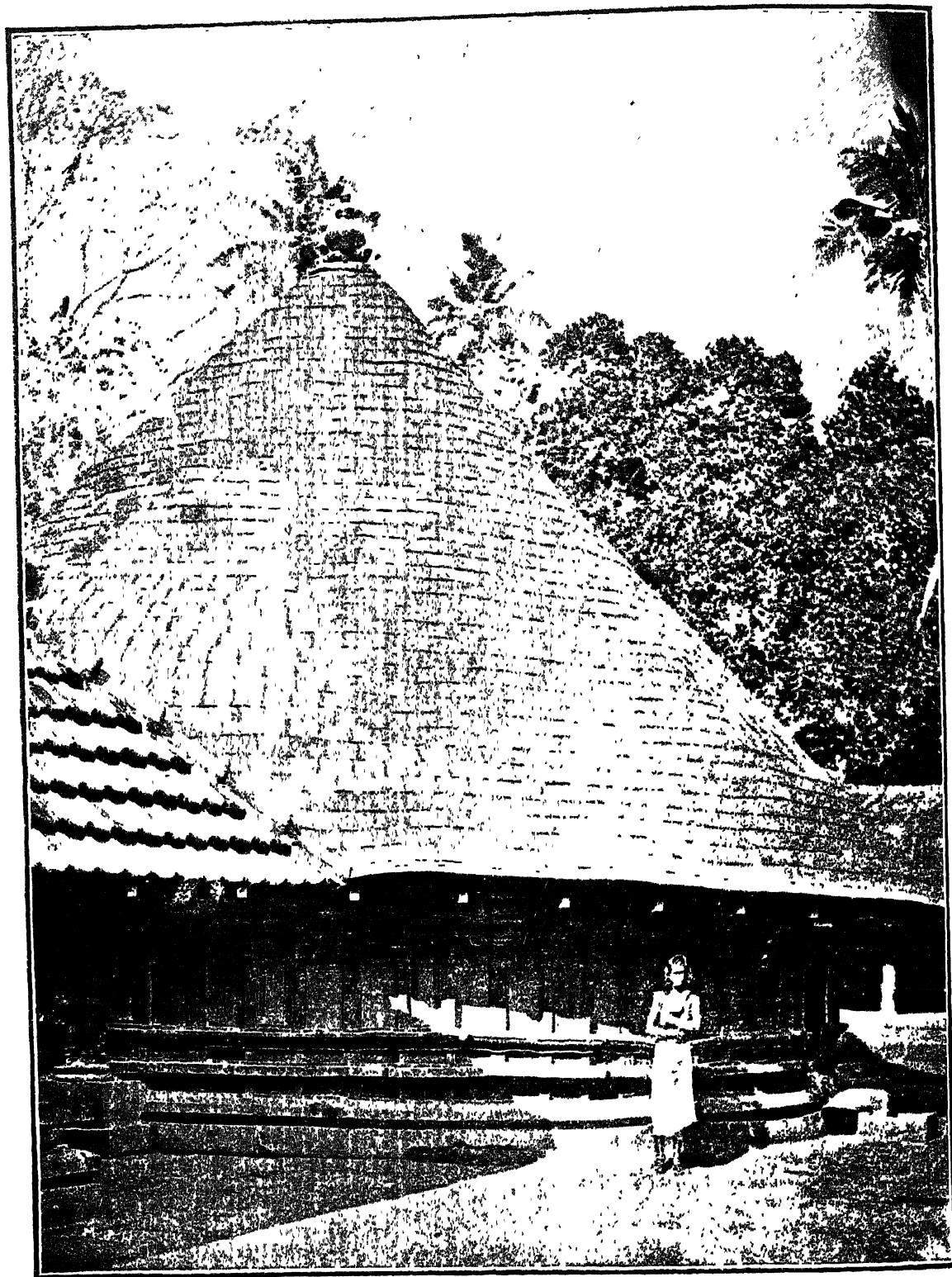
GENERAL VIEW OF THE ROCK-CUT SHRINE AT TIRUNANIKKARAI.



SECTIONAL ELEVATION OF THE ROCK-CUT SHRINE AT TIRUNANDIKKARAI



PILLAR IN THE ROCK-CUT SHRINE AT TIRUNANDIKKARAI.



GENERAL VIEW OF THE SIVA TEMPLE AT TIRUNANDIKKARAI.

*K. V. Subrahmanya Aiyer.*



The structural monument, i. e. the Śiva temple, which is located not many yards to the south of the hill with the cave already noticed, seems to be considerably old, but renewed sometime ago when most of its early inscriptions appear to have vanished. The situation of this temple on the south bank of the Nandi river, almost fully occupying the space between the hill on the one side and the river on the other, with a fine grove of trees stretching to the east and a fresh water tank on the west, besides its solitary nature, adds much to its grandeur. The central shrine is round and adorned with a top belt of Bhūta-gaṇas. There are *dvārapālas* at either entrance and a small shrine of Gaṇeśa at the left side. The temple faces the east, has a detached *maṇḍapa* in front, a spacious courtyard and a *śūṛṛambalam*. The front *maṇḍapa* has a hollow in its centre within which the Nandi is kept. The ceiling of this *maṇḍapa* is divided into 25 equal square compartments. While the outer 16 squares bear wood carvings of lotus flowers, the central 9 compartments are fitted with wooden images of the Dikpālas and Brahmā. The beams forming the edge of the ceiling contains bead and floral ornamentation, tastefully carved in the same material. The circular wall of the central shrine encloses within it a rectangular sanctum provided with a passage for circumambulation. The images of the *dvārapālas* are not very old. They appear to have been put in at the time of the renovation. A covered passage on the south side of the central shrine leads to the kitchen apartments of the temple.

The oldest stone images at Tirunandikkarai are those of Śiva, Vārāhī and Vaiṣṇavī, which were unearthed some years ago and kept under the two *aśvattha* trees in front of the temple.

The general view of the rock-cut cave and the temple, the pillars in the cave, as well as the sectional elevation and plan, are given on plates facing pages 200—1.

The subjoined inscription is engraved on a pillar of the rock-cut cave at Tirunandikkarai in the Kalkuḷam Taluk of Padmanabhapuram Division, Travancore State. It is in the Vaṭṭeluttu alphabet and the Tamil language. The date of the inscription is the year of destruction of the ships at Talaikkuḷam. It has not yet been ascertained when this event occurred; Nor is it known who the aggressor was. But to judge from the characters, the record may be assigned to the latter half of the 8th century A. D. The sharp angular bents of *e* and *pa* (line 10), the almost horizontal bottom stroke of *ra* (ll. 7 and 11) and the downward *u* stroke of *ṇu* (l. 9) clearly point to an early date. It is to be noted that in the inscription of the Chōla king Rājaraḷa I found in the same place (see plate facing p. 291 of the *Travancore Archaeological Series*), *ka* and its combined consonants are shaped with a loop at the bottom: all the other letters are also similarly highly developed, thus leaving no doubt that the subjoined inscription is very much older. The latter resembles to a great extent the Tirupparaṅkuṇṇam epigraph of Māraṇjadaiyaṇ.

The object of the inscription is to register a gift of land by the great men of the assembly of Tirunandikkarai, to Nambi-Gaṇapati, for midnight offerings. The assembly met together at Kurundambākkam and the gift-land was constituted into a new village termed Nandimaṅgalam.

Other proper names that occur in the inscription, besides the ones noted already, are Mudukōṇṇūr, Pākkamaṅgalam and the Nandi river.

Talaikkulaṁ is ore of the Pakuthies of the Eraniel Taluk. The Tirunandikkarai inscription of the Chōḷa king Rājārāja I (A. D. 1003), whose text is given on p. 292 of Vol. I, records the gift of the village of Muṭṭam, with its name altered into Mummudiśōlanallūr, to the temple of Tirunandikkarai-Mahādēva and refers to the bathing of the god in the river on the day of Śatabhishaj in the month of Aippāsi.<sup>1</sup> In another inscription, a general of the Chōḷa prince Rājāditya is mentioned in the following words<sup>2</sup>:—

*Rājādichchadēvar perumbaḍai-nāyakar Malai-nāṭṭu Nandikkarai-Puttūr Vellaṅkumaraṇ.*<sup>3</sup>

The Chōḷa general Vellaṅkumaraṇ was a native of Puttūr which was a village in Malai-nāḍu on the bank of the river Nandī.<sup>4</sup> Just as in 'Ariśīr-karai-Puttūr' (a place celebrated in the Dēvāram hymns, wherein it is said in clear and unmistakable terms that the place was situated on the bank of the river Ariśīl), Nandikkarai-Puttūr, of which Vellaṅkumaraṇ was a native, must be taken to denote 'Puttūr on the bank of the river Nandi'. That Nandi, like the Ariśīl, was a river is made clear in the description of the boundary of the land granted, where occurs the phrase "*Nandiy-ārrukku-vaḍakku*" "*i. e.* to the north of the river Nandi." I am informed that at present there is a village called Puttūr on the Nandi river not very far from Tirupparappu. With this, the native village of the Chōḷa general Vellaṅkumaraṇ has to be identified. Nandimaṅgalam still retains its name unchanged as does Tirunandikkarai. The former is at a distance of 2½ miles from the latter and is on the east bank of the Kōḍaiyāru river. Mudukōṇṇūr mentioned in this epigraph, as forming the northern boundary, is now called by the slightly altered name Mudukannūr and lies to the north of the hill with the rock-cut cave. It is at this place that the Nandi river, which takes its rise on the north-east slopes of the Mukaliyādi hill and flows westwards past the Śiva temple and the cave, joins the Kōḍaiyāru. Pākkamaṅgalam is the only place that is now no longer in existence.

### Text.

1. ஸ்ரீ ஸ்ரீ [11\*] திருநந்திக்க[ரை]
2. பெருமக்களுந் த[ளியா]ள்வானு-
3. ன் குருந்தம்பா[க்க]த்து கூடி.
4. [த]லைக்குளத்துக் கலம-
5. ந்றயாண்டு [ஸ்ரீ] நந்திம-
6. ன்கலமென்று [பெ][ரு\*]மஞ்
7. செய்து நம்பி கணபதி-

1 Travancore Archæological Series Vol. I. p. 292.

2 Director-General's Annual for 1915, p. 180.

3 This general built of stone the Śiva temple at Mauligrāmam *i. e.* the modern Grāmam in the Tirukoilur Taluk of the South Arcot District.

4 The late Mr. Gopinatha Rao was of opinion that Nandikkarai-Puttūr should not be taken as Puttūr on the bank of the river Nandi. (see. p. 291, Vol. I. of *Travancore Archæological Series*).

5 Cancel ம்.

8. க்ஞ குடுத்தொ மிதுக்கு
9. எல்லை யாற்றுக்கு கிழ[க்\*]கு முதுகொனார்[க்\*]கு
10. தெற்கு பாக்கமங்கலத்து[க்\*]கு மெ[ற்\*]கு
11. நந்தியாற்று[க்\*]கு வட[க்\*]கு இவெல்லை
12. [க்ஞ ளகப்பட்டது]
13. அஃயாமத்
14. துருவமி[ற்\*]து

Translation.

Hail! Prosperity! The greatmen of Tirunandikkarai and the manager of the temple (taliyālvān), met together at Kurundambākkam in the year when the ships at Talaikkulam were destroyed, conferred the name of Śrī-Nandimaṅgalam (on a certain piece of land) and gave (it) to Nambi Ganapati. The boundaries of this are to the east of the river, to the south of Mudukōṇūr, to the west of Pakkamaṅgalam and to the north of the Nandi river. (The lands) lying within these boundaries (are assigned) for midnight sacred offerings.

No. 55.— Inscription in the rock-cut cave at Tirunandikkarai.

This inscription is engraved on a pillar of the rock-cut cave at Tirunandikkarai in the Kalkulam Taluk. It is in the Vaṭṭeḷuttu alphabet and the Tamil language. The date of the inscription is not given; but to judge from the characters both of the Vaṭṭeḷuttu and the Grantha letters, it may be said that it belongs to the latter half of the 8th or the first part of the 9th century A. D. The only Grantha letters used in the inscription are *svastī śrī* (lines 1 and) and *Bhaṭṭāra* (line 2). The shape of the Vaṭṭeḷuttu letters is quite similar to No. 54.

The object of the inscription is not clearly expressed and is not free from doubt. It may be tentatively assumed that it registers gifts of lands made by Nārāyaṇa Śivākaraṇ, a native of Mangalachchēri, to the shrine of Tiruvallavāḷ-Bhaṭṭāra and to the temple of Tirunandikkarai-Bhaṭṭāra, for worship, for wages to drummers, and temple servants, and for *bali* offerings, lamp etc.

Mangalachchēri occurs in line 369 of the Tiruvalla plates.

The proper names of places mentioned in this record are:—

Pālaikkōḍu in Kavaiyelmanāna-Mannūr.

Vālaikkōḍu and Śūlikkunḍarai

Idavēli-Eṇumanai

Muṭṭukōḍu

Paḍamparai in Pilaiyūr

Kāraikkōḍu in Alaimanṇam

Aruvukkarai

Nelvēli

Vetṭiyūr-maruttai

Perunīr-Neḍuṅgeṇpākkamaṅgalam

Peruman-Iṇṇachchai

Tuvvakkāḍu  
 Mērkinkarai of Muṭṭam  
 Tenkarai of Idai-Araṅgam  
 Perinūr  
 Īyāṇamaṅgalam  
 Mērkōḍu  
 Kōmūr

Of the places mentioned above, Vāḷaikkōḍu may be identified with Vāḷōḍu in Tiruvidāṅkōḍ-Pakuthy, Kāraikkōḍu with a village of that name in Talaikkūḷam and Aramanai Pakuthies. Aruvikkarai is a village in the Kalkūḷam Taluk; and Nēvēli belongs to Naṭṭālam Pakuthy. Mēkkōḍu is a village in the Kalkūḷam Taluk and Muṭṭam is near Talaikkūḷam in the Eraniel Taluk.

### Text.

1. [வஹி ஸ்ரீ] [11\*] திருநந்திக்கரை திருவல்ல-
2. [வாழ்] ஸ்ரீராகர்க்கு மங்கலச்செரி நாராயணஞ்
3. சிவாகர[ன் அமைச்]ச பூமி [திருநந்திக்க]-
4. ரை [படார]ர் குடுத்த பூமி[1\*] [கவ]யெல்லம்-
5. [ங்ங மண்ணு]ர்ப் பாலைகொடிருகலம்[1\*] வாழைக்கொட்-
6. டு பெரறையுந் துடவலும் சூழிக்குண்ட-
7. றைக் கலம் பாடு[1\*] மிடவெலி எரும[னை]யான
8. <sup>1</sup>கலம்பாட்டி லுருவும் மற்றுள்ளது-
9. ம்[1\*] முட்டுகொட்டுகுளத்தின்கிழ் கலம் பி-
10. [லை]யூர் படம்பறை யலைன்றத்து காத-
11. கொட்டு புதுச்செ கலனெ தூணி [1\*] அறுவுக்க-
12. [ரை வயலுங்] கரையும் துவ்வக்காட்டாரமாச்செய்யு
13. வியாஸிக் கு[ள]வறை மா-
14. வறை துடவல் [வெ]ட்டி யூ-
15. [ர்]மரு[த்]தை நெல்வெலி ப-
16. றம்பு பெருநிர் நெடு-
17. ங்கண்பாக்கமங்கல-
18. ம் வயலும் கரையும்
19. பெருமண் ணிற்றிச் செ-
20. யிருகலம்[1\*] முட்டத்து-
21. மெற்கின் கரை [மிடை அர]
22. ங்கம் தென்கரையும் பெறி-
23. னூர் பந்நிருகலம் தெ-
24. ன்கரையு [1\*] மியானமங்க-
25. ல மிருகலம்<sup>2</sup> [1\*] மெற்கொ-
26. ட்டு வரையறை கொழு-
27. ரொன்பதின் கலம் [11\*]
28. இந்நிலத்திற் சா-
29. ந்திப்புற<sup>3</sup> நாத்-

1 ட் looks like டு.

2 ல is corrected from ம.

3 Read சாந்திப்புறம்.

30. கல முவச்சகட்-
31. கைங்கலம் தி-
32. ருக்கொயிலுடை-
33. யார்க்கும் பவி-
34. ஷ்ஷி<sup>1</sup> யரிக்குந் துடைக்கும-
35. [வர்க்]குமாய் ஐங்கல<sup>2</sup> மிக்க-
36. நிலத்தா னியதிப்படி-
37. அறுநாழி யரியு<sup>3</sup> நந்தாவி-
38. ளக்குஞ் செல்விது [||\*] இச்செல-
39. [வு விலக்கு]வார் முழிக்கள [க\*]ச்ச . .
40. . .<sup>4</sup>

Translation.

Hail! Prosperity! The lands assigned at Tirunandikkarai to (the temple of) Tiruvallavāḷ-Bhaṭṭār, <sup>5</sup> by Nārāyaṇa Śivākaraṇ of Maṅgalachchēri and those to the Bhaṭṭāra of Tirunandikkarai are:—

Pālaikkōḍu in Kavayelmaṇṇa-Manṇūr, (with the sowing capacity of) given two *kalam* (of seed);

*Pēraṇai* and *tuḍaval* (lands) in Vālaikkōḍu and Śūlikkuṇḍarai, (with the sowing capacity of) (one) *kalam* (of seed);

*urā* and other (lands) in Iḍaveli-Erumaṇai (with the sowing capacity of) (one) *kalam* (of seed);

(land with the sowing capacity of) *kalam* (of seed) to the east<sup>6</sup> of the tank at Muṭṭukōḍu; Paḍambaṇai in Pilaiyūr and Puḍuchchai in Kāraikkōḍu of Alai-maṇṇam, (together having the sowing capacity of) (one) *kalam* and (one) *tūṇi* (of seed);

the *vayal* and *karai* (lands) of Aṇuvukkarai and the field (measuring) half a *mā* in Tuvvakkāḍu;

the *kuḷavarai*, *māvarai* and *tuḍaval* of Viyāli; the land called Veṭṭiyūr-Maruttai;

the *paraṃbu* (lands) of Nelvēli;

the *vayal* and *karai* (lands) of Perunīr-Nēduṅganpākkamaṅgalam; Īṇra-chchai in Perumaṇ (having the sowing capacity of) two *kalam* (of seed);

Meṇṇikkarai of Muṭṭam, Teṇkarai of Iḍai-Araṅgam and Perinūr (together having the sowing capacity of) twelve *kalam* (of seed);

Teṇkarai and Īyānamaṅgalam (with the sowing capacity of) two *kalam* (of seed); and

*Varaiyarai* in Mērkōḍu and Kōmūr (with the sowing capacity of) nine *kalam* (of seed).

1 Cancel the syllables ஷ்ஷி ஷ். From here, the writing is in different hand. Hence the insertion of these syllables.

2 Read கலம்.

3 Read யரியும்.

4 The few syllables at the end are not intelligible to me. We would expect த்துப் படுவார்.

5 There must have been set up an image of the god of Tiruvallavāḷ in this temple.

6 *Kuḷattiṇkēḷ* might also be rendered 'under or fed by the tank.'

From these lands, four *kalam* were set apart for worship (*śāntippuram*), five *kalam* for drummers, and five *kalam* for those who are in charge of the sacred temple, for the rice (required) for *bali* offerings, and for those who clean.

From the rest of the lands, six *nāḷi* of rice shall be given daily and (one) perpetual lamp maintained. Those who obstruct these expenses [shall be subject to] the punishment of (the assembly of) *Mūlikkaḷam*.

### No. 56.—Inscription in the rock-cut cave at Tirunandikkarai.

The subjoined inscription, in Vaṭṭeḷuttu characters and the Tamil language, is engraved at the right of entrance into the cave at Tirunandikkarai in the Kalkuḷam Taluk of the Padmanābhapuram Division. It registers a gift of nine buffaloes for maintaining one sacred lamp in the temple of Tirunandikkarai-Bhaṭāra. The donor was the chief Sittakuṭṭi-Ambi *alias* Aññūruva-Muttaraiyaṇ of Vēykōṭṭumalai in Nāñji-nāḍu. The date of the record is given as the year in which the ships at Karaikkandīśvaram were destroyed. It is not known when this event took place. Karaikkandīśvaram is a village near Kaḍigaipattinam in the Eraniel Taluk. To judge from the characters, the record cannot be earlier than the 12th century A. D.

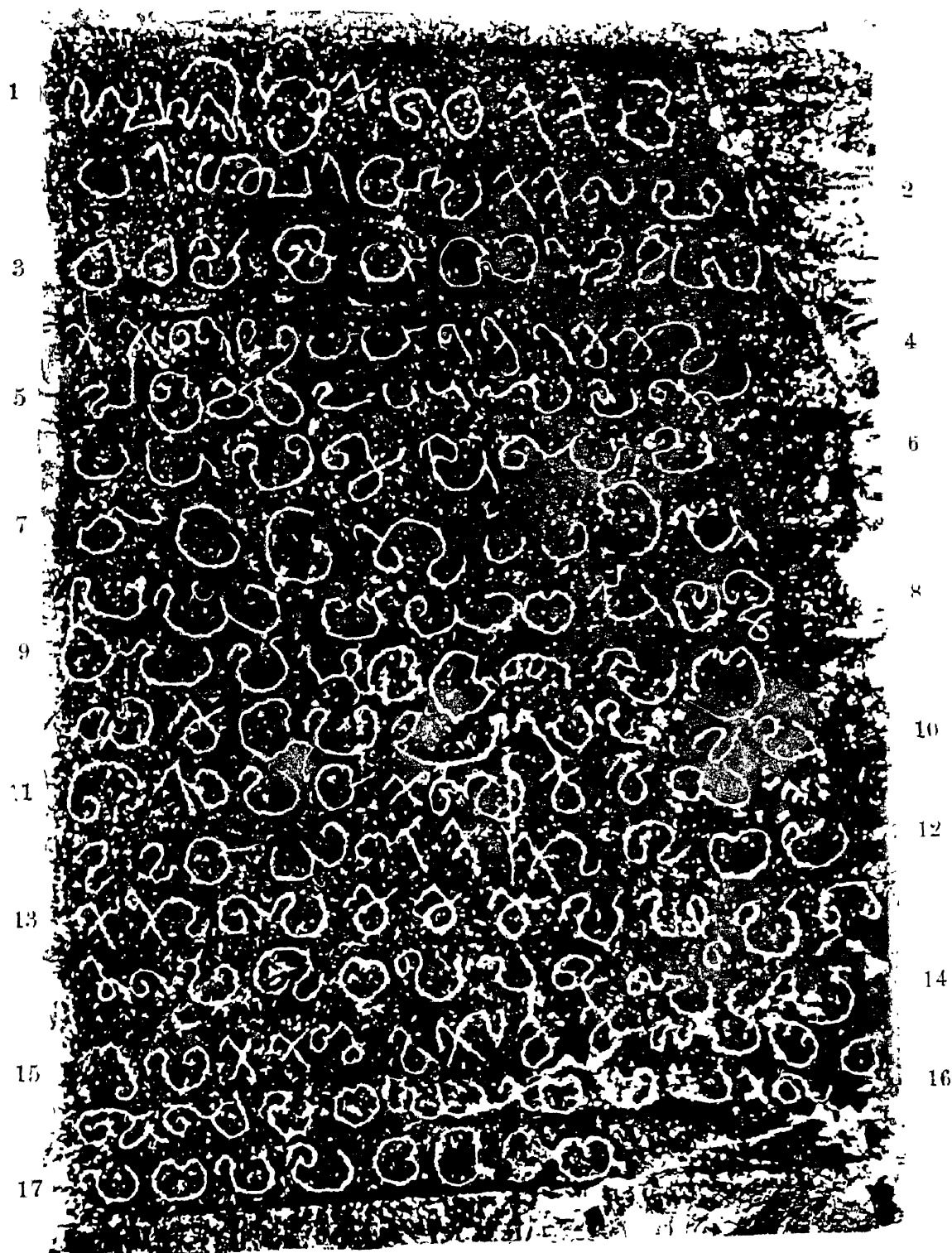
#### Text.

1. ஸ்ஷிவீ ஸ்ரீ [||\*] கறைக்கண்-
2. ட ஸ்ரீரத்துக் கலம்-
3. ற்ற யாண்டு திருநந்தி-
4. க்கரை ஹட்டாரகர்க்கு
5. நாஞ்சிநாட்டு வெய்கொ-
6. ட்டு மலையுடைய
7. சித்தகுட்டி அ-
8. ம்பியாயின அஞ்ஞா-
9. ற்றுவ முத்தரையன்
10. நிசதம் உரிய் டெய்
11. எரிவதாக வைச்ச திரு-
12. நந்தாவிளக்கு ஒன்று-
13. க்கு வைச்ச சரவா மூவா எ-
14. ருமை ஒன்பது இவை பெ-
15. ருமக்களுக்குச் சமைஞ்ச[ச]
16. இடையன் . . . மங்கல-
17. வன் பவித்[தி]ரன்

#### Translation.

Hail! Prosperity! In the year when the ships at Karaikkandīśvaram were destroyed, Sittakuṭṭi-Ambi *alias* Aññūruva-Muttaraiyaṇ of Vēykōṭṭumalai in Nāñji-nāḍu gave, for being burnt daily with (one) *uri* of ghee, one sacred lamp and nine buffaloes which neither die nor grow old. These (were left in charge of) the shepherd Pavittiraṇ of . . . maṅgalam, appointed by the great men.

No. 56. ROCK INSCRIPTION OF TIRUNANDIKKARAI.



K. V. Subrahmanya Aiyer.

Scale: One-seventh.

No. 57.—Minchirai-matam plates.

This inscription in Vatteluttu is engraved on two broken copper-plates which belong to the Minchirai-matam. First plate measures  $1' 6\frac{1}{8}'' \times 2\frac{1}{2}''$  while the second measures  $1' 5\frac{1}{4}'' + 2\frac{1}{2}''$ . There is a ring hole bored  $4\frac{1}{8}''$  inside from the margin. The engraving has been neatly done. The inscription consists of two parts, of which the first gives details of an income of 67 *achchu* set apart for feeding persons on *dvādaśi* days of the 12 months of the year. Provision is made only for 17 *dvādaśis*. This portion is said to have been engraved on copper-plate in the month of Tula of the year in which Jupiter was in Kumbha. The details given are insufficient for calculation. The second part registers gifts made for feeding on other occasions, such as Tiruvōnam, Pūrṇimā, Ayana-Saṅkrānti, *pratipat* and birth or anniversary days of some of the persons.

The age of the inscription may be roughly estimated, on purely palaeographical grounds to be the beginning of the 13th century A. D.

*Śirāttam* occurring in this inscription has been taken as a variant of *śrāddha*, on the ground that provision is made for feeding on birth days (*pirandanāl*). *Piradipadam* stands for *pratipat*, i. e. *śu* or *ba*. 1. In the case of grants made for *śrāddha*, the names given in the record may be regarded as those of persons on whose behalf the donations were made.

The contents of the inscription may be conveniently given in the form of a list as under:—

Month.	Days of feeding.	Names of persons or places.	Money granted.
Kanni	śu. 12	Tirivikkiraman Veḍima . . n of Ālaippuram	4 achchu
Do.	ba. 12	Valampuri-Bhaṭṭar	3 Do.
Tula	śu. 12	Do. of Poḍikaṇṇam	4 Do.
Vṛiśchika	ba. 12	Amma of Polikaḍam	4 Do.
Dhanus	Do.	Kuḷataṛa	4 Do.
Do.	śu. 12	Kālayil	4 Do.
Makara	ba. 12	Kiḷchēri	4 Do.
Kumbha	Do.	Śeṇbagachēriyavaṇ	4 Do.
Do.	śu. 12	Kōvaṇ Śuvara-baṭṭadiyār	4 Do.
Mīna	ba. 12	Kaṇḍaṇ Nāraṇan of Vaṭṭam	4 Do.
Mēsha	śu. 12	Amma of Kāliṅgal	4 Do.
Rishabha	Do.	Do. of Ākkirānam	4 Do.
Do.	ba. 12	Madilkkal	4 Do.
Mithuna	Do.	Irumbaiyil	4 Do.
Kāṭaka	śu. 12	Amma of Kāvīṅkal	4 Do.
Do.	ba. 12	Nīlakaṇḍan of Iḍamana	4 Do.
Simha	Do.	Amma of Vaṭṭam	4 Do.
Total.....			67 achchu.



Month.	Occasion of feeding.	Name of person or place.	Money granted.
Tulā	Tiruvōṇam	Neydalpara	4 achchu
Vṛiśchika	Paurṇimā	Bhaṭṭar of Kīlkuṇṇam	5 Do.
Dhanus	Do.	Amma of Punnaman	4 Do.
Makara	Do.	Amma of Pālam	4 Do.
Kumbha	Do.	The <i>paruḍaiyār</i> of Kuḷataṛa	4 Do.
Mīna	Do.	Teṇṇaṇṇēri	2 Do.
Kāṭaka	Do.	Gaṅgādiran of Ālaippuram	4 Do.

Dēvaṇ Tiruvikkiraman of Achchitta(Achyuta) maṅgalam gave 10 achchu.

The feeding days for this money are:—

Month.	Occasion of feeding.	No of persons to be fed.
Tulā	<i>ba. di. pratipat</i>	12
Mithuna	<i>ba. di. 8</i>	12
Kanni	<i>ba. di. 10</i>	3
Kumbha	<i>su. di. 12</i>	3

Month.	Occasion.	Name of person or place.	Money granted.
Kanni	<i>ba. di. 13</i>	Gaṅgādiran of Ālaippuram	4 achchu (for <i>Śrāddha</i> )
Rishabha	<i>su. di. 3</i>	Śaṇ . . naṇ of Ūr	4 Do. (for <i>Śrāddha</i> )
Dhanus	Tiruvōṇam	Kuṇṇil	4 Do.
Kumbha	Do.	Śrī Kumān of Kallūr	4 Do.
Kāṭaka	Ayana-Saṅkrānti	Mudakkatti	4 Do.
Mīna	Tiruvōṇam	Gaṅgādiran Kaḍamman	4 Do.
Makara	Ayana-Saṅkrānti	Amma of Kuṇḍam	4 Do.
Do.	Do.	Amma of Mayākkal	1 Do.

Month.	Occasion.	Name of person or place.	Money granted.
Simha'	<i>ba. di. 3</i>	Kālavil	4 achchu
Mīna	<i>ba. di. 6</i>	Tekkanakadēvan of Madilkkal	2 Do.
Vṛiśchika	<i>Paurṇimā</i>	Do.	1 Do.
Mīna	<i>su. di. 3</i>	Kitta . . . . lam of Mēlpurakkāḍu	4 Do.
Kumbha	<i>Kārttikai</i>	Gaṅgādiran of Poṭṭakannam	4 Do.
Simha	<i>ba. di. 8</i>	Kōḍagārappalli	2½ Do. ( <i>Śrāddha</i> )
Mithuna	<i>Bharanī</i>	Kūḍagārappalli	2 Do. (to feed three persons)
Kāṭaka	<i>Rēvatī</i>		(to feed three per-
Vṛiśchika	. . . .	Amma of Kuṇṇimēl	24 Do. sons)

Note:—

For each person one *nāḷi* of butter-milk and one slice of cocoanut were ordered (to be given).

### Minchirai Matha Plates.

- 1 ஹரி ஷ்ரீ [11\*] கன்னி ஞாயிற்று பூரபக்ஷத்து<sup>1</sup> துவாதேசி<sup>2</sup> 3 ஆலைபுறத்து தரிவிக்கிரமந் [வெடிம.<sup>4</sup> ன்<sup>5</sup> அச்சு நாலு [11\*] கன்னி ஞாயிற்று மரபக்ஷத்து துவாதேசி வலம்புரி பட்டர் அச்சு முன்று<sup>6</sup>
- 2 துலா ஞாயிற்று பூரபக்ஷத்து துவாதேசி பொடிகண்ணத்தில் . . . [அச்சு நா]லு விரிச்சிகஞாயிற்று மரபக்ஷத்தில் துவாதேசி பொலிக[க]டத்தி லம்ம அச்சு நாலு<sup>7</sup>
- 3 தனு ஞாயிற்று அமரபக்ஷத்து துவாதேசி<sup>8</sup> குளதற அச்சு நாலு || தனு [ஞ]ாயிற்று பூபக்ஷத்தில்<sup>9</sup> துவாதேசி<sup>10</sup> காள[யி]ல் அச்சு நாலு || மகரஞாயிற்று மரபக்கத்தில் துவாதேசி<sup>10</sup>
- 4 கிழ்செரி அச்சு நாலு || சும்ப ஞாயிற்று மரபக்க[த\*]தில் துவாதேசி<sup>10</sup> செண்பகசெரி[ய]வன் அச்சு நாலு || சும்ப ஞாயிற்று பூரபக்கத்தில் துவாதேசி<sup>10</sup> கொவஞ்சுவர பட்டதியாரச்சு நாலு ||

- 1 Here and in other instances, read பூர்வ for பூர.
- 2 வா is entered slightly below the line. It seems to have been inserted later. Read துவாதேசி.
- 3 The ல looks like னி.
- 4 The plate is broken into two pieces after ம.
- 5 A small bit at the top of the plate is here lost.
- 6 The length of ஞ is clearly indicated. There is a punctuation mark at the end.
- 7 There is a punctuation mark here.
- 8 Read துவாதேசி.
- 9 Read பூர்வபக்ஷத்தில்.
- 10 Read துவாதேசி.

- 5 மின ஞாயிற்று <sup>1</sup>ற்றமரபக்க[த்]தில் துவாதெசி வட்டத்தில் கண்ட நாரா  
ணன் அச்ச நாலு || மெட ஞாயிற்று பூரபொக்கத்தில்<sup>2</sup> துவாதெசி  
க்கலின்க லம்ம அச்ச நாலு ||
- 6 இடப ஞாயிற்று பூர்வபக்க[த்\*]தில் துவாதெசி ஆக்கிராந்தி லம்ம அ  
ச்ச நாலு || இடப ஞாயிற் றமரபக்கத்தில் துவாதெசி மதின்க லச்ச  
நாலு ||
- 7 மிதின ஞாயிற்று அமரபக்கத்தில் துவாதெசி இரும்பயி லச்ச நாலு ||  
கர்கடக ஞாயிற்று பூரபொக்கத்தில்<sup>2</sup> துவாதெசி காவின்க லம்ம அச்ச  
நாலு ||
- 8 கர்கடக ஞாயிற் றபரபக்கத்தில் துவாதெசி இடமன நில்கண்ட னச்ச  
நாலு || சிங்ங ஞாயிற் றபரபக்க[த்\*]தில் துவாதெசிவட்டத்தி லம்ம  
அச்ச நாலு ||

*First plate: Second side.*

- 9 சும்ப வியாழம் துலா ஞாயிற்று இச்செப்பெடு வெட்டி<sup>3</sup>
- 10 ஆக அச்ச எம்பெருமான் பக்கல் சென்றது<sup>4</sup> அறுபத்தெழு || துலா ஞா  
யிற்று திருவொணம் நெய்தல்பற யச்ச நாலு || விரிச்சி[சு]க ஞாயிற்று  
வொ[ர்\*]ண்ணமாதி கிழ்குன்றத்து
- 11 பட்டர் அச்ச அஞ்ச || தனு ஞாயிற்று வெளண-<sub>ண</sub>ஆதி புன்னம ணம்ம அ  
ச்ச நாலு || மகர ஞாயிற்று வெளண-<sub>ண</sub>ஆதி பாலத்தின் [ன]ம்ம அச்ச  
நாலு || சும்ப ஞாயிற்று வெளண-<sub>ண</sub>ஆதி கு-
- 12 ளத்த[த]ற பருடையா சச்ச நாலு || மின ஞாயிற்று வெளண-<sub>ண</sub>ஆதி தெங்ங  
ஞ்செரி அச்சிரண்டு || கர்க்கடக ஞாயிற்று வெளண-<sub>ண</sub>ஆதி அலைபுறத்த  
கெங்ஙாதிரனனச்ச<sup>5</sup> நாலு ||
- 13 அச்சித்தமங்ஙலத்து தெவந்திருவிக்கிரமன் கல்ப்பிச்ச அச்ச பத்து பத்த  
ச்சினு மூட்டுந் நாள் துலா ஞாயிற்று அ-
- 14 பரபகூழி பிறக்கின்ற பிரதிபத்தத்தின்னாள் பந்திரண்டினை ஊட்டுவூ<sup>6</sup> மிது  
ந ஞாயிற்று அபரபக்கத்து அட்டமி நாள் பந்திரண்டினை
- 15 ஊட்டுவூ<sup>6</sup> கன்னி ஞாயிற்று அபரபக்கத்து தெசமி நாள் மூவர் ஊட்டுவூ<sup>6</sup>  
சும்ப ஞாயிற்று பூர்வ பக்கத்து துவாதெசி நாள் மூவர்
- 16 ஊட்டுவூ<sup>6</sup> || கன்னி ஞாயிற்று அபரபக்கத்தில் திரயோதெசி ஆலைபுற  
த்து கெங்ஙாதிரன் கிராத்த மச்ச நாலு ||

*Second plate: first side.*

- 17 இடபஞாயிற்று பூர்வபக்கத் திருதிய கிராத்தம் மூரில் சங் . . ண னச்ச  
நாலு || தனு ஞாயிற்று திருவொணம் குன்றில் அச்ச நாலு ||

1 Replace ற்ற by அ.  
2 Read பூர்வபகூத்தில்.  
3 This line should be taken to the end of the plate.  
4 Read சென்றது.  
5 The syllables ண are repeated twice.  
6 Read ஊட்டவும் or ஊட்டுவதற்கும்.

- 18 கும்ப ஞாயிற்று திருவொணம் கல்லூர் சிரிஞ்மா னச்சு [நாலு\*] கர்கடக  
ஞாயிற் றயன சங்கிராந்தி முடக்கத்தி அச்சு நாலு ||
- 19 மின ஞாயிற்று திருவொணம் கங்காதிசன் கடம்மன் . . . <sup>1</sup> [நாலு] ||  
மகர ஞாயிற் றயனசங்கிராந்தி குண்டத்திலம்ம அச்சு நாலு ||
- 20 மகர ஞாயிற்று அயன சங்கிராந்தி மயாக்க லம்ம அச்சொ<sup>2</sup> . . சிங்ங  
ஞாயிற்று அபரபக்கத்து திருதிய காளயில் சிராத்த மச்சு நாலு ||
- 21 மினஞாயிற் றபரபக்க[த்\*]தில் சட்டில் மதில்கல் தெக்கனகதேவன் அச்சி  
ர . . <sup>3</sup> விரிச்சிக ஞாயிற்று வெளண-மாதி மதில்கல் தெக்கனகத்தெ  
வன் அச்சொன்று ||
- 22 மின ஞாயிற்று பூர்வபக்கத்தில் திருதிய மெல்புறக்காட்டுக் கித்த . . லம  
ச்சு நாலு || பொட்டகண்ணத்தில் கெங்காதிசன் பிறந்ந நாள் கும்ப  
ஞாயி-
- 23 ற்று கார்த்திக அச்சு நாலு || சிங்ஙஞாயிற் றபரபக்கத்தி லட்ட . . <sup>4</sup>  
கொடகாரப்பள்ளி சிராத்த மச்சு யிரண்டர[||\*]

*Second plate: second side.*

- 24 கூடகாரபள்ளி மிதுன ஞாயிற்று பரணி நாளை சிராத்த[த்\*]தின் [னி]ர  
ண்டு [||\*] மூவர் ணட்டுஞ் [||] கர்கடக ஞாயிற் றிரவந்ந நாள் மூவர்  
வாணடுஞ்<sup>5</sup>
- 25 விரிச்சிக ஞாயிற் றாட்டுவான் குன்றின்மே லம்ம வச்ச அச்சு இருபத்து  
நாலு சென[த்\*]தின்னு நாழி நாழி மொரு மொரோ மு-  
26 றி தெங்காயும் கல்பிச்சு<sup>6</sup> ||

### No. 58.—Palaiyur plate of Kollam 918.

The subjoined inscription is engraved on a single copper-plate belonging to the Palaiyūr church and it was obtained by the late Mr. Gopinatha Rao for taking impressions. I edit it from one set of facsimiles prepared by him. The plate measures 1' 4 $\frac{7}{8}$ " by 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". The writing, which is in the Vatteluttu alphabet of the period to which the record belongs, commences on the first side, and after two lines, is continued on the back, where 7 lines are engraved and then finished on the first side. The last section, which contains 6 lines of writing is engraved in a direction opposite to that of the commencing lines. On the first side, just where the record begins, a Cross in double lines is also incised.

This inscription is dated in Kollam 918 and in the month of Mīna. The incising has been made very carelessly and consequently there are many mistakes. It registers the complete purchase, with libation of water, of a free hold property, by the Vicar of the Palaiyūr church, from Rāmaṇ Pañṇaṇ and his brothers of Achchālīyam, a hamlet of that village.

1 The gap may be filled with the syllables அச்சு.

2 The missing letters are ன்று.

3 Here the missing letters are ண்டு.

4 Restore மியில்.

5 The symbols for வாணடுஞ் are clear, though ணட்டுஞ் would suit the occasion.

6 Read கல்பிச்சு.

The writer of the document and the witnesses to the transaction are Kēraṇ Kaṇḍaṇ of Kōṅgāḍu, the residents of Talappaḷḷi and Chavulakkāḍ, the *mūttavar* (i. e. the elders) of Mammambi and the Kaimmaḷ of Kūttappaḷḷi.

Of the places mentioned in the inscription, Pālaiyūr is one of the *aṁsams* of the Ponnāni Taluk, Malabar district<sup>1</sup>. It is reported to contain one of the seven earliest churches erected in the district<sup>2</sup>. Kōṅgāḍ is 10½ miles north-west of Palghat.<sup>3</sup> Talappaḷḷi is also in the Ponnāni Taluk.<sup>4</sup> Chavulakkāḍ may be identified with the modern Chāvakkāḍ, 15 miles south-east of Ponnāni.—

In another document belonging to the same church, Irinṇapuram figures<sup>6</sup> and this place is also a village in the Ponnani Taluk.<sup>7</sup> I am not able to trace where Mammambi and Kūttappaḷḷi are situated.

*Kammaḷ* is another form of the word Kaimmaḷ which in Malabar is used as a title of nobility.<sup>8</sup> It occurs in an *ōlai* (cadjan) document of the Jacobite church at Agapparambu<sup>9</sup> near Aṅgamāli, a station in the Shoranur-Cochin section of the South-Indian Railway.

In the Travancore Census Report for 1901, p. 270, the word Kaimmaḷ is explained as follows:—

“An ecclesiastical dignitary comparable to the *mahant* of Tirupati having supreme control over the Kūḍalmāṇikkam shrine at Irinjalakkuḍa in the Cochin State. He is by birth a Nāyar of the Kuruppu subdivision raised to the sacerdotal dignity and social privileges of a Brahmin Sanyāsi, by means of an elaborate purification ceremony known as *avarōdhana*. The Kaimmaḷ is appointed by the Mahārāja of Travancore whom he represents at the temple, of which he is in charge.”

### Text.

- 1 கொல்லம் [கூ]ராயஅ-மத மீனஞாயற்றில் எழுதிய அட்டிப்பெற்றொலக்  
கருணமவது<sup>10</sup> [11\*] பாலயூர் தெசத்த [அச்சழித்த]
- 2 கும்மனிய்ப்பறம்பின்ன தெக்கெப்புறம் இம்பொணன்<sup>11</sup> கல்லட்ட அதிற்  
க்கதெக்கொட்டும் [1\*] பள்ளிபறம்பின்ன வடக்-
- 3 கெ அதிற்க்க வடக்கொட்டும் [1\*] படிஞ்ஞாற எடவழிக்க கிழக்கொ  
ட்டும் [1\*] கி[ழ\*]க்கெ அற்றக்க<sup>12</sup> படிஞ்ஞாட்டும் [1\*]

1 Logan's Malabar, p. 666.

2 *Ibid* p. 199.

3 Sewell's *lists of Antiquities*, Vol. I, p. 252.

4 Logan's Malabar, p. 497.

5 Sewell's *lists of Antiquities*, Vol. I, p. 250.

6 Above, p. 83.

7 Logan's Malabar, p. 666

8 The Cochin State Manual, p. 202.

9 *Travancore Archæological Series*, Vol. I. p. 303.

10 Read கருணமாவது.

11 The existing traces admit only this reading.

12 Read அதற்றக்க as in line 2.

4. இ நாலதிர்க்க அகத்தகப்பெட்டத<sup>1</sup> எப்பியெற்பெட்டதும் அந்து நால  
றகண்டு யெடம் அற்த்தவும்
- 5 வாங்கி அட்டிப்பெற பிறமுதெலொதகமயி<sup>2</sup> எழுதிகொடுத்தான் அச்சழி  
த்த ராமன் பங்ஙனும்
- 6 தம்பிமரும்<sup>3</sup> [||\*] அம்மார்க்க<sup>4</sup> இச்சொன்ன பலையூர்<sup>5</sup> தெசத்த அச்சா  
ழியத்த சும்மணிப்ப<sup>6</sup>
- 7 ன்ன தெக்கெப்புறம் கல்லிட்டதிர்க்க தெக்கொட்டும் [||\*] பள்ளிபறம்பி  
ன்ன வடக்கெ அதிர்க்க
- 8 வடக்கொட்டும் [||\*] படிஞ்ஞாற எடவழிக்க கிழக்கொட்டும் [||\*] கிழ  
க்கெ அறக்க<sup>7</sup> படிஞ்ஞாட்டும் [||\*] இந்-
- 9 நாலதிர்க்ககத்தகப்பெட்டத<sup>8</sup> எப்பிற்பெட்டதும் அந்து நாலறகண்டு யெ  
டம் அற்த்தவும் கொடுத்த
- 10 அட்டிப்பெற பிறமுதெலொதகமயி எழுதிச்ச கொண்டன்<sup>9</sup> பலையூர்<sup>10</sup> ப  
ள்ளி வெகரியும் பொறத்திக்காரும் [||\*] இம்மார்க்கமெ
- 11 இச்சொன்ன பறம்ப அந்து நாலறகண்ட யெடம் அற்த்தவும் வாங்கி பிற  
முதெலொதகமயி எழுதிகொடுத்தான் ராமன் பங்ஙனும்
- 12 தம்பிமரும்<sup>11</sup> அம்மார்க்கமெ<sup>12</sup> இச்செ[||\*]ன்ன பறம்ப அந்து யெடம்  
அற்த்தவும் கொடுத்த பிறமுதெலொதகம[||\*]யி எழுதிச்ச
- 13 கொண்டன்<sup>13</sup> பாலயூர் பள்ளி வெகாரியும் பொறவறத்திக்காரும் இம்ம  
ர்க்கமெ<sup>14</sup> அறியும் பலதக்கி<sup>15</sup> தலப்பெள்ளி-
- 14 யரு வெற்காவெக்கரு கூடவ்வும் சவுலக்கட்டில்<sup>16</sup> நாட்டரு<sup>17</sup> மம்மம்பில்  
முத்தவ்வெரும் கூத்தாம்பெ-
- 15 ள்ளி கம்மனும் அறிகெ கொங்நாட்டில் கேரளன் கண்டர் கய்யெழுத்த

- 1 Read எப்பேர்ப்பட்டதும்.
- 2 Read மாய்.
- 3 Read தம்பிமாரும்.
- 4 Read அம்மார்க்கம் or அம்மார்க்கமே.
- 5 Read பாலையூர்.
- 6 Read சும்மணிப்பறம்பி .
- 7 Read அதிர்க்க.
- 8 Read எப்பேர்ப்பட்டதும்.
- 9 Read கொண்டான்.
- 10 Read பாலையூர்.
- 11 Read தம்பிமாரும்.
- 12 Read அம்மார்க்கமே.
- 13 Read கொண்டான்.
- 14 Read இம்மார்க்கமே.
- 15 The length of த seems to be omitted. தாக்கி is an altered form of சாக்ஷி.
- 16 Read சவுலக்காட்டில்.
- 17 Read நாட்டாரும்.

### Translation.

(The following is) the deed<sup>1</sup> of purchase of a free-hold property written in the month of Mīna of the Kollam (year) [9]18:—

Having received the then price (*artha*), Rāmaṇ Pañṇaṇ of Achchāliyam and his brothers wrote and gave, with libation of water,<sup>2</sup> the *aṭṭippēru* (deed) of all kinds of lands, four and a half *kaṇḍu*<sup>3</sup> (in extent), lying within these four boundaries, viz to the south of the stone<sup>4</sup> boundary of Imboṇaṇ on the southern side of the land called Kummani-Paraṃbu<sup>5</sup> in Achchāliyam of Pālaiyūrdēsam: to the north of the northern boundary of the land called Paḷli-Paraṃbu: to the east of the western bye-path: and to the west of the eastern boundary.

The Vicar of the Pālaiyūr church and the *porattikkārar* having paid the then price, obtained with libation of water the written deed (*aṭṭippēru*) (conveying) all kinds of lands, four and a half *kaṇḍu* (in extent), lying within these four boundaries, viz. to the south of the stone boundary on the southern side of the land called Kummani Paraṃbu in Achchāliyam of Pālaiyūr-dēsam,—to the north of the northern boundary of the land called Paḷli-Paraṃbu: to the east of the western bye-path: and to the west of the eastern boundary,—thus described above.

In this manner, Rāmaṇ Pañṇaṇ of Achchāliyam and his brothers, having received, with libation of water, the then price, wrote and gave this said *paraṃbu*, four and a half *kaṇḍu* (in extent).

In that manner, the Vicar of the Pālaiyūr church and *Poravarttikārar* having given the then price of this said *paraṃbu*-land, obtained the written (deed).

The several witnesses who knew (the transaction) thus made are the people of Talappalli, . . . . .<sup>6</sup> the residents of Chavulakkāṭṭu-naḍu, the elders (*mūt-tavar*) of Mammambi and the Kaimmaḷ of Kūttampalli. (This is) the signature of Kēraḷaṇ Kaṇḍar of Koñṇāḍu, who wrote (the deed) to their knowledge.

### No.59<sup>1</sup> — Trivandrum museum plate of Kollam 697.

The subjoined inscription in eight lines is edited from one set of impressions kept in the Trivandrum museum. It is not known from whom the plate was obtained for taking estampage.

- 1 Dr. Gundert takes '*aṭṭippēru*' or '*aṭṭippēruḷakkaraṇam*' to mean 'a complete purchase of a free hold, title deeds of free hold property'.
- 2 *Pira-mudal-udaḡamāy koḍuttāṇ* or *konḍāṇ* literally means the procedure of giving or receiving with libation of water (*udaḡam*) the property (*mudal*) of others (*pirar*).
- 3 *nāl-ara-kaṇḍu-eḡam* may either mean that the land had (the sowing capacity of four and a half *kaṇḍu*) or that its yield was four and a half *kaṇḍu*. If *kaṇḍu* is a change from *kaṇḍam*, it would mean a quantity of land.
- 4 The literal meaning of *kallāṭṭ-adaṇḡkku* or *kallāṭṭ-adaṇḡkku* is 'the boundary made by depositing stones'.
- 5 *Kummani* may be an adaptation of the English word 'company'. *Paraṃbu* means 'a hill or land'.
- 6 The meaning of the word வெழ்ச்சாவெச்சு or the correction to be made in it remains to be determined.

The Vatteluttu alphabet, in which it is written, is neatly executed. It presents some peculiarities which are worth noting. The language of the inscription is Tamil allied to Malayālam; but the forms that occur are rare and not easy to understand. The translation given below is consequently tentative.

*Ṛ* is shaped in the form of a small square unconnected at the left bottom: it is formed like the English letter B, but disjoined at the left bottom: *ṇa* is sometimes written without any distinction between it and *ta* and sometimes it gets a loop at the commencement. Though the vowel *i* and the combined consonant *lai* are similar in their formation, yet they can be distinguished. The modern *ai* symbol stands for *ṇa* in this record. Little difference is made between *ka* and *cha*. There are two forms of *ṇ*, one with a closed loop at the beginning and the other without it. *Na*, *pa*, and *va*, are hardly distinguishable. The length of a letter is indicated by the addition of a separate symbol resembling *tā*. The *u* sign in this epigraph is a small convex curve: it is added to the bottom of such letters as *r*, *ṛ*, *t*, *k*. This method of shaping *ru*, *ṛu*, *tu*, and *ku* is quite peculiar. *Ku* is twice formed like *le*. At the end of the record is figured a conch and an axe.

Since the grant registered is in favour of the temple of Śaṅkaranārāyaṇa-mūrthi of Tirunāvāykkulam, the plate may be said to have come from there.

A word may now be said as to the probable significance of some of the fiscal terms used in this record.

*Parivāram* means retinue. It may correspond here to retainer's fees.

The late Mr. Nagam Ayya noted that the term '*saiketam*' is applied to the property of the Śrī-Padmanābhasvāmy. He has furnished the translation of a cadjan *neet* dated 22nd Kumbham 810 M. E. issued by the Travancore Sovereign to the ryots of Nāñji-nāḍu.<sup>1</sup>

*Śeṅgōma* may be regarded as a corruption of the word *śeṅkōlmai*. From the use of the term in this document it may be taken to mean 'the fee for just Government'.

*Talai-vilai* may be an equivalent of *iṇavari* which occurs in the inscriptions of the Tamil districts.

*Muppara-munnāḷi* may be a tax of three *nāḷi* on every three *parai*. The purpose for which this was raised is not known. It is comparable to *vatti-nāḷi* of the epigraphs of the Tamil districts.

It is possible that *ettukuttu* stands for *eḷuttukuttu*. If it is, it may correspond to *rāyasam* (*i. e.* writing fees).

*Aṅgam* means part. Perhaps it denotes the fee levied for the maintenance of the seven component parts of administration (*saptāṅga*).

<sup>1</sup> *Travancore State Manual*, Vol. I. pp. 302-3.



*Āṇḍugal-aḍuvu* may stand for the annual incomes (*aḍuvu*).

*Ṣuṅgam* means 'tolls' and hence the fee paid by toll keepers on their income.

*Taragu* is the fee paid by those who act as brokers.

Palæographically, the record is of great importance, though there is not much of historical matter in it.

### Text.

- 1 காலம்<sup>1</sup> சுாகுயன<sup>2</sup>-ராமத இடபஞாயறு பத்து செந்ந திங்களாழிச்சயும் தி  
ருவொணமும் பஞ்சமியும் இந்நாளால் நழுக்குள்ள தி-
- 2 ருநாவாயிக்குளத்து சங்கரநாராயணமூர்த்தியெயும் பிராகாரம் அடக்கி  
வத்துகிறுத்தியம் யெப்பெறப்பட்டதும் அ-
- 3 க்கபூரராய் தெவன்னு பூவொடும் நிரொடும் தானம் கொடுக்கயில் ஆசந்தி  
ராக்க காலமெ சந்ததிரவெசமெ தெவனெ பூசிச்ச ய-
- 4 ச்சய்தியிவ்வொலைக்கெ யுப்படத்தி கொக்களெ ரக்கிச்ச வத்துவககளம்<sup>3</sup>  
பாரிச்ச பரிவாரம் பரிச்ச சங்கெதம் அடக்கி நம்முடெ
- 5 சொருவத்தெக்குள்ள செங்கொமயும் தலவெலையும் அஞ்சிமுலமும் முப்ப  
றமுந்நாழியும் மெத்துக்குத்தும் அங்கம் சுங்கம் தர-
- 6 கு<sup>4</sup> அடக்கி ஆண்டுகள்ளடுவும் தட்டடுவும் பரிச்ச அசண்டவடு ஆக்கி<sup>5</sup> மெ  
காசண்டவடு [ஆ]க்கி பாரிச்ச கொள்-
- 7 னுமாளும் அகபூரராரெ தெவந்து சறுவ்வ சுவாதந்திறம்மாயி நடந்து  
கொள்ளுக வெந்து வச்ச தர-
- 8 நெமெல் செரிமெல் விலயெழுதி விடுகயும் செயிது.

### Translation.

On this day of Tiruvōṇam i. e. the tenth, expired, of the month of Rishabha e of the Kollam year 697 corresponding to Monday, and the fifth *tithi* since we, the people of Akkaiyūr, gave as a free gift, with flower and water, our right over the temple of Śaṅkaranārāyaṇamūrtti of Tirunāvāykkulam and over all kinds of properties lying within the *prākāra* (of that temple), to Dēvaṇ and had this fact entered in this deed, this Dēvaṇ shall, as long as the moon and the sun last and in his own lineage, perform the worship, protect the cows, manage the properties, take care of the attendants, control the *saṅkēta*, and realise the *āṇḍugal-aḍuvu* and *tattugal-aḍuvu* inclusive of *śēṅgōma*, *talaivilai*, *aṇḍumūlam*, *muppara-munnāḷi*, *ēttukuttu*, *aṅgam*, *ṣuṅgam* and *taragu* which are due to our king . . . . . The people of Akkaiyūr conveyed with libation of water their right over the *Śēri* to Dēvaṇ so that he may, with all freedom, conduct the same.

1 Read கொல்லம். In all cases, anusvāra is used for final m.

2 The symbol for 10 is written on the top of 9.

3 Read வஹைவககளெயும்.

4 Ku is differently shaped here.

5 The meaning of this phrase is not clear: it is left untranslated.

## No. 60.—An inscription in the Siva temple at Sivagiri.

The subjoined inscription is engraved on the north, west and south bases of the court within the temple of Sivagiri. It is engraved in the Tamil characters and the Tamil language of the period to which it belongs; and relates to an investment of a grant of money made by a Brāhmaṇa lady named Kaṇḍaṇ Tiruvikkirami, the wife of Puṅgāmaṇ Aiyyaṇ, a native of Pālaikkōḍu in Tiruvīdāṇkōḍu, for feeding the *agnihōtrins* assembling in the temple of Sivagiri-Mahādēva, for offerings to the god and for feeding other Brāhmaṇas, on the thirteenth *tithi* of the dark fortnight in the month of Kanni of each year. The record states that the money was given over to a certain Nārāyaṇa Araṇḍaṇ of Devaṇṣēri, on condition that he and his descendants should give annually four *kalam* of clean paddy to the temple through its supervisor Gaṇapati Ādichchaṇ and after him through the eldest of his eldest son's lineage, so that one *paḍaḡāram* of it might be set apart for the *agnihōtrins* and the supervisor, one half of the rest used for the offerings of the god and the other half for feeding Brāhmaṇas on the 13th *tithi* of the dark fortnight of the month of Kanni, each year. As usual, at the end of the inscription occurs the penal clause that if, in respect of the payment, default was made once, double the defaulted quantity should be paid; if the default occurred twice, there should be a fine in addition to the payment of double the defaulted quantity; and if default occurred a third time also, the land should be taken up for management by the *agnihōtrins* and the supervisor, and the expenses correctly met.

Without further details, it is not possible to fix the exact date of the inscription, which is stated to be a year in which Jupiter was in the Kanni-rāśi, and the month Mēsha.

## Text.

- 1 ஸ்ரீ ஸ்ரீ [11\*] கன்னியில் வி[யா\*]ழும் நின்ற மெடஞாயிற்று செய்த  
செயகடவொலைக்கரணமாவிது திருவிதான்கொட்-
- 2 6 பாலைகொட்டு பூங்காமன் ஐய்யன் ஸ்ர[ா\*]ம்மணி கண்டன் திருவிக்கிர  
மி நெல்வெனியொடு ஸ்ர[ா\*]நுத்தொடு
- 3 இடைப்பட்ட ஸ்ர[ா\*]நுக்களில் ஸ்ர[ா\*]நுக்கொடுக்கட்டு கன்னி ஞாயிற்று சுவரவ  
கூத்தில் ஸ்ர[ா\*]நுக்கொடு-
- 4 ஸ்ர[ா\*]நுக்களில் ஸ்ர[ா\*]நுக்கொடுக்கட்டு கன்னி ஞாயிற்று சுவரவ  
கூத்தில் ஸ்ர[ா\*]நுக்கொடு-
- 5 கு கல்ப்பிச்ச இவ்வச்சு முன்று சலாகையும் அச்சு பத்து [11\*] இவ்வச்சு  
பத்துத் தெவன்செரி
- 6 நாரா[ய\*]ணனரங்கன் கைக்கொண்டு எழுதிவைச்ச தன்னிடெ பூமி இர  
ணிசிங்ங[ந]-
- 7 ஸ்ர[ா\*]நுக்களில் ஸ்ர[ா\*]நுக்கொடுக்கட்டு கன்னி ஞாயிற்று சுவரவ  
கூத்தில் ஸ்ர[ா\*]நுக்கொடு-
- 8 முக்குதுடவல்லுக்கும் எலியுண்ணிக்காலறைகட்கும் காலகஞ்சாட்டு முக்கி-

- 9 ன்னும் வட்டத்தின்னு[ங்] காலறைத்துடவல்கட்டுந் நடுவில் கிடந்த  
கால-
- 10 றை தடி யொன்று விரிவு நிலந் தூணியில் தனக்கொள்ள நிலம் நால்  
குறு-
- 11 ணி இருநாழி உரி மெலும் ஆண்டுவரையுங் கன்னி ஞாயிற்று சுவரவகூத்-  
த்-
- 12 தில் துயொடிபி நாள் திருவாதல்மாடத்தில் நால்கலஞ்செது நெல்  
சுழி-
- 13 கூ[ஞ்\*]செய்யின்ற தெவன்செரி கணவதி ஆதிச்சன்னு அளவு கொடு  
ப்பிது [II\*] இந்நெல் நால்கலமும் கணவதி ஆதிச்சன் கைக்கொண்டு  
மெய்காட்டிய சுழிமொத்திகளும் சுழிச்சுநும் ஒரு படகாரங் கொண்டு  
தெவ[ர்\*]க்கும் பா-
- 14 [தி] திருவமிதின்னும் கொண்டு பாதி ஸ்ராஜ்ணரமிர் து செய்ததின்னுங்  
கொடுத்து வருவிது [II\*] கணவதி ஆதிச்சன்னிற் பின்னையும் தன்  
தந்தானத்தில் முத்தவன்வழி முத்தவன் செலுத்தி வருவிது [II\*] இம்  
மார்க்கமெ நாராய[ய\*]ணனரங்ஙனும்
- 15 இந்நெல் நால்கலமும் ஆலாபுயாரவகி சந்ததி புவெயரெ ஆண்டுவரை  
யும் முட்டாதெ அளவுகொடுத்து வருவிது [II\*] இம்மார்க்கஞ் செலு  
த்திவருமெடத்து ஒரு[ரு\*]க்கால் முட்டுகில் முட்டிரட்டி கொடுப்பிது  
[II\*] இரண்டுதடை முட்டுகில்
- 16 முட்டிரட்டியுந் தெண்டமும் வைப்பிது [II\*] முன்றுதுடை முட்டுகில் சு  
ழிமொத்திகளும் சுழிச்சுநுங்குடி இந்நிலம் நால் குறுணி இருநாழி உரி  
யுஞ் சுட்டி அதிகரிச்சு கொண்டு இச்செலவும் முட்டா-
- 17 தெ செலுத்தி வருவிது [II\*] சுழிச்சுந் இம்மார்[ர்\*]க்கமெ ஆண்டுவரை  
யும் இந்நெல் நால் கலமும் முட்டாதெ நாராய[ய\*]ணனரங்ஙன் செலு  
த்துமாறு இந்நிலத்தின்மெல் எழுதி-
- 18 வைச்சமைக்கு இக்கல்வெ[ட்டாகும்] [II\*]

### Translation.

Hail! Prosperity! The order prescribing the duties to be performed, made in the month of Mēsha of the year in which Jupiter was in Kannī is (as follows):—

The Brāhmaṇa lady (named) Kaṇḍaṇ Tiruvikkirami, wife of Pūṅgāmaṇ Aiyyaṇ of Pālaikkōḍu in Tiruvidāṅkōḍu gave ten *achchu* and three *śalāyāi*, to the assembly of (such of) the *agnihōtrins*, among the *agnihōtrins*, residing in the villages lying between Nelvēli and Suchindram, who appear in person in the hall at the entrance to the temple of Śivagiri-Mahādēva, on the thirteenth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Kannī. Nārāyaṇaṇ Araṅgaṇ of Dēvaṇsēri having received on hand these ten *achchu*, wrote and gave his land called Kālarai, regularly cultivated with paddy and fed with water from the ruined tank of Rapa-siṅganallūr, and lying within the boundaries viz. Melukkuttuḍaval, Eliyunnī-kālarai, Kālaganchāṭṭumūku, Vaṭṭam and Kālaraittuḍaval, measuring one *taḍi* in extent and having the sowing capacity of one *tūṇi* of seed. Of this,

the land which belonged to him had such an area that could be sown with four *kurūṇi*, two *nāḷi* and (one) *uri* (of seed). From this land, he had to measure and give annually, on the day of the thirteenth *tithi* in the second fortnight of the month of Kanni, in the hall (*maḍam*) at the entrance (into the temple), to Gaṇapati Ādichchan of Dēvaṁsēri, who does the work of supervision, four *kalam* of good paddy. Obtaining in his hand this (quantity of) four *kalam* of paddy, Gaṇapati Ādichchan shall, after reserving one *paḍagāram* for the *agnihōtrins* who appear in person (at the hall of the temple) and for the supervisor, give one half (of the balance) for the offering of the god and the (other) half for the feeding of the Brāhmanas.

After Gaṇapati Ādichchan, the eldest in the lineage of his eldest son shall continue to distribute (the quantity of paddy). In this manner, Nārāyaṇaṇ Araṅgaṇ and the (members of his) lineage shall, as long as the moon and the stars exist, annually measure and give without (making any) default, the four *kalam* (of paddy). In effecting payments in this manner, if default occurred once, double the defaulted quantity should be paid; if default occurred twice, along with double the defaulted quantity a fine also should be paid; and if default was made three times, the *agnihōtrins* and the supervisor should assemble, take up the management of this land with the sowing capacity of four *kurūṇi*, two *nāḷi* and (one) *uri* (of seed) and should meet without default these expenses. This writing on stone evidences that the supervisor had, in this manner, got Nārāyaṇaṇ Araṅgaṇ to write and give from his lands annually, without default, this (quantity of) four *kalam* of paddy.

#### No. 61.—Eraniel inscription of Kollam 857.

The subjoined inscription is engraved on a stone set up in the bazaar street at Eraniel. It is in the Tamil alphabet and language, and relates to the opening of a bazaar with shops in the quarter called Śeṇbagarāmaṇ-Pudukkaḍai in Raṇa-śiṅganallūr i. e. Eraniel, on the authority of an order (*nīṭṭu*), evidently of the king issued to the *ūrār* and the residents of the place. The shopmen were required to pay the customary dues and to maintain two charitable institutions viz. two *maṭhas*, erected in the western and eastern streets, by the collection of the *kuttu* of paddy on every *podī* and one *piḍi* on every *śumaḍu* of paddy, sold in the brokers' shops. It has to be noted that officials were expressly prohibited from entering shops, distraining property and causing inflictions to merchants. Even at the present day Eraniel is noted for its market held on every Monday: it is largely attended.

The date of the record, i. e. Kollam 857, takes us to the time of the famous Umaiyyamai-Rāṇi.

A few words employed in the inscription deserve to be noted. *Deṇḍu* is another form of *danḍa* 'a stick or rod': it is used here in place of *taḍi* or *kōl* which are often employed in Tamil epigraphs: it means 'rods for measuring lands'. The length of this rod differed in different places. *Śimaḍu* or *śumaḍu* means a bundle or weight generally carried on heads. From it, is derived the term (*śummāḍu* which means

'a pad for carrying burdens'. *Piḍi* answers to the Sanskrit *muṣṭi*, which is sometimes used in Tamil inscriptions in the form *muṭṭi*: thus it means 'a handful'. *Podi* is a big load and *kuttu* means 'a double handful of grain'. '*Maruṣādi*' stands for '*maryāda*' and means 'established custom'. '*Āṇavāl*' or '*āṇayāl*' (literally 'one mounted on an elephant' is a technical term meaning 'the manager of a temple, generally a Brahman'.<sup>1</sup> Though *kūḷ* generally means 'pulp prepared out of rice, ragi (millet) etc, it denotes here 'grain' and may be taken to be a shortened form of the word '*painkūḷ*'; hence '*kūḷḷkaḍai*' indicates 'grain stalls'. It is not unlikely that *nāṭṭu-kal* mentioned in the inscription refers to hero-stones: there are several references to them in the ancient Tamil works. Many such stones are found round about Eraniel. *Nāṭṭu* is another technical term which means 'royal order', issued by the kings of Travancore.

### Text.

- 1 அநாருயிள ஓடு மாரக-
- 2 ழி மீர் உாக வ இரணி-
- 5 சிங்கநல்லூர் செண்-
- 4 பகராமன் புதுக்கடை
- 5 யில் கடையும் கடைய-
- 6 றையும் கெட்டுவா னில-
- 7 ம் பொத்தியான்கொண்-
- 8 த்து குளத்துப் பொகிந்ற-
- 9 தென்வடல் பெருவழி-
- 10 யில் நாட்டு கல்லினு
- 11 மெக்கு பட்டாலியர் கி-
- 12 ணத்தினு ஷையா-
- 13 ர் இட்டமடத்தினும் கிள-
- 14 க்கு கிளமெல் இராச-
- 15 பெருவழிக்கு தெண்-
- 16 டு இரண்டும் நிக்கி
- 17 வடக்கு தெண்டு இ-
- 18 ரண்டரையும் ஷே
- 19 பெருவழிக்கு தெ-
- 20 க்குத் தெண்டு இ-
- 21 ரண்டரையும் ஷே
- 22 பெருவழியில் தெ-
- 23 க்கணைய தெக்கெ-
- 24 ப்பாகித்து ஆறு தெ-
- 25 ண்டு நீளத்தில் மூ-
- 26 ந்று தெண்டு வீதியி-
- 27 ல் கூழ்க்கடையும்
- 28 ஆக இவ்வகைப்ப-
- 29 டிபொள்ள தறையில்

1 *Travancore State Manual*, Vol. III, glossary, p. iv. Perhaps '*āṇayāl*' is equivalent to '*ajñāpaka*'.

*Second face.*

- 30 கடையும க-  
 31 டையறையு-  
 32 ம் கெட்டிக்-  
 33 கூழ்க்கடை-  
 34 யும் கெட்டி-  
 35 கிள்மருசாதி  
 36 ஒள்ள இறையு-  
 37 ம் இறுத்து வா-  
 38 ணிபழம் செ-  
 39 ய்து பொருமா-  
 40 றும் மெலப்ப-  
 41 டி கடையிலு-  
 42 ம் கடையறை-  
 43 யிலும் ஆனவா-  
 44 னும் அதிகா-  
 45 ரியெடெ ஆ-  
 46 னும் கெறிப்-  
 47 பணையம் எ-  
 48 டுக்கையும்  
 49 உபத்திரகம்  
 50 செய்கையு-  
 51 ம் செய்ய ரு-  
 52 தென்னு  
 53 டை கடையி-  
 54 லும் கடைய-  
 55 றையிலும்  
 56 இருந்ந வ-  
 57 ணிபழ-  
 58 ம் செய்து

*Third face.*

- 59 ஆசந்திரதாரவெ சந்ததி-  
 60 ப்பிறவெசுவெ கீள் மருசா-  
 61 தி நடந்து பொந்ந வண்-  
 62 ணம் நடந்து பொரு-  
 63 மா றும் டையில் தர-  
 64 கு கடையில் நெல்லு  
 65 வித்திந்ந நாள் உழை-  
 66 யொருபாக முதலியா-  
 67 ர் மடத்தினு பொதிக்கு  
 68 க்குத்து நெல்லும் சிம-  
 69 ட்டினு பிடி நெல்லு-  
 70 ம் எடுத்து மெலத்டு-  
 71 தருவில் மடத்திலைக்-  
 72 குப் பாதியும் கிளத்தெரு-

- 73 வில் மடத்திலைக்குப் பா-  
 74 தியும் ஆக[த்\*] தம்மச் சிலவு-  
 75 ம் நடத்திப் பொருமாறு-  
 76 ம் இவ்வகைப்படியெ நட-  
 77 ந்து பொருமெயெடத்து  
 78 இதனு யாதொரு கால-  
 79 ம் யாதொருத்தர் ஆகித்-  
 80 ம் செய்யிந்நவர் கெங்-  
 81 கைக் கரையில் காரா-  
 82 ம் பசுவைக் கொந்-  
 83 ந தொழ்சத்தைக்  
 84 கைய்யெற்றுக் கொ-  
 85 ள்ளும்மாறும் செ-

*Fourth face.*

- 86 ய்க யிது ஆ-  
 87 ாருளெ ஹு  
 88 மார்கழி மீம்  
 89 உடுக ட கற்பி-  
 90 ச்சைமைக்கு  
 91 மெப்படி செ-  
 92 ண்பகராம-  
 93 ன் புதுத்தெ-  
 94 ருவில் மெல்-  
 95 த்தெருவில்  
 96 செட்டிகள்  
 97 ஊராருக்கு  
 98 நிட்டெழுத்து  
 99 விடுக யெந்-  
 100 று திருவுள்ள-  
 101 மாயது

### Translation.

On the 21st day of Mārgaḷi in the year 857, for opening a bazaar and building shops, in the quarter known as Śeṇbagarāmaṇ-Pudukkaḍai in Raṇaśiṅga-nallūr. (the following) lands (were given):—

to the west of the stone set up in the big road running south-north and leading to the tank of Pottiyāṅkōṇam;

to the east of the well of Paṭṭāliyaṛ and of the maḍam built by the same person;

to the north, excluding the two *deṇḍu*, of the big road called Rāja-peru-vaḷi running east-west, two and a half *deṇḍu* in extent;

to the south of the same big road, two and a half *deṇḍu* in extent, and cutting off on the south side of the same big road (and taking) six *deṇḍu* in

length and three *deṇḍu* in width *kūḷkaḍai* (i. e. shops for selling grains), shall be formed.

On the ground obtained in this manner, bazaar and shops shall be built, grain stalls erected and merchandise conducted, paying taxes according to established scale.

*Āṇavāl* (i. e. men mounted on elephants) and servants of officers shall not get into the said bazaars and shops, distrain (property) or cause other infictions.

Persons shall live in the said bazaar and shops, do merchandise and as long as the moon and the stars exist conduct themselves in the said manner, following the established custom.

On days when paddy is sold in brokers' shops, one *kuttu* (i. e. double handful) of paddy on every *podī*, and one *piḍi* (i. e. handful) of paddy on every *siṁaḍu* shall be taken; for the *maḍam* of Umaiṇṇrupāga-Mudaliyār. From (the accumulated quantity), one half shall be given to the *maṭha* in the western street and the other half to the *maṭha* in the eastern street. Thus shall the expenses of the charity be maintained.

When they conduct themselves in this manner, if any one causes at any time any obstruction, he shall incur the sin of killing tawny cows on the banks of the Ganges.

This was ordered on the 21st day of Mārgaḷi of the year 857; and a *nīttu* was also graciously ordered to be issued to the Chetties and the *ūrār* residing in the western street of Śeṇbagarāmaṇ-Pudukkaḍai.

#### No. 62.—Eraniel inscription of the Kollam year 929.

The subjoined inscription is engraved on a slab set up near the Pillaiyār temple at Eraniel. It is dated in the Kollam year 929, current, and Śaka 1675, expired, when Jupiter was in Karkatāka-rāśi. Complete details of date are given. The record registers the fact that a certain Ketṭumāriyāḍum-Perumāḷ-Pichchaipillai-Mūppaṇār living in Kilatteru (i. e. the eastern street) of Ranaśiṅganallūr (i. e. Eraniel), obtained on mortgage with possession, five items of land called Valiya-Kuṇḍarai, Nariyaṇporrai, Vēmbaḍi and Aravāl and assigned their incomes in favour of the Pillaiyār temple, for baling water into a stone trough, for maintaining a flower-garden and supplying garlands to the gods, for feeding persons on *dvādaśi* days, for sacred lamps and for performing *abhishēka* to the gods on *pradōsha* days. The boundaries of each piece of land, its extent in *taḍi* (i. e. measuring rods), its sowing capacity and the assessment in kind and money (*kaḍamai* and *paḍivu*) payable on it, at each harvest, are also furnished together with the details of expenditure to be met from the incomes accruing from the lands.



This inscription employs several symbols. It is worthy of note that the signs used for *kalam*, year, hundred and thousand closely resemble each other though with minute differences. Same is the case with the symbols for *āga* and *arisi*. Little or no difference exists in the symbols for *nāli*, *nilam* and *tēdi*: as also for *paṇam* and *māsam*. From this inscription, it is seen that 2 *uḷakku* made 1 *uri*, 2 *uri* made 1 *nāli*, 10 *nāli* made 1 *kuruni* and 15 *kuruni* made 1 *kalam*. A separate symbol is used to denote 1/20th of a *paṇam*.

It has been already noted that *kaḍamai* was the assessment proper on lands, which in most cases was paid in kind. The present epigraph introduces a new word in land tenure. It is '*padivu*' which was paid in *paṇam* during every harvest season, just like *kaḍamai*. From the Tanjore inscriptions of the early Chōla king Rājarāja I, we know that certain lands paid their assessments in kind alone, while in other cases this payment was effected both in kind and in money. In the subjoined record, it is seen that for certain lands payment in kind alone is given while in the case of others *padivu-paṇam* had also been paid. It is not therefore unlikely that the *padivu-paṇam* was a part of the assessment due to Government. *Vāsi* is another term that requires special notice, since its proper significance has not yet been ascertained. In a large number of instances where it occurs in inscriptions, this word is found along with the verb '*ēṇṇi*' which means 'adding'. Thus there is not much doubt that the term denotes 'an additional amount or quantity'. 'Excess' will be a very appropriate term for it in English. In one of the Tanjore inscriptions for paying 7 *kuruni*, 4 *nāli*, 3 *uḷakku*, 1 *āḷakku* and  $2\frac{1}{2}$  *śēviḍu* it is stated that adding *vāsi*, 2 *tūni*, 4 *nāli*, 1 *uri* and 1 *āḷakku* of paddy should be given to make the amount full.<sup>1</sup> It is necessary to state that *vāsi* (excess quantity) does not go into account, but is added merely to meet any possible deficiency that may be found in measurement. The word may be derived from the Sanskrit *vyāji* which means 'the amount or quantity claimed to compensate any possible error in measuring, counting etc' and it must have been given to meet the differences between the standard weight and measures and those used in the market.

- 1 The text of this inscription (*South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. II. p. 127) which uses the word '*vāsi*' reads "போனகப்பழ நெல்லு எழுருதணி நானூழி மூழக்கே ஆழக்கே யிரு செவிடரையும் இவை பூரியாக வாசி ஏற்றி பூரிநெல்லு இரு தூணி நானூழி உரி யாழக்கும்" and this has been rendered (*Ibid.*, p. 129) into (Altogether the requirements are) "seven *kuruni*, four *nāli*, three *uḷakku*, one *āḷakku* and two *śēviḍu* and a half of old paddy for boiling or,— having added an increment,— two *tūni* four *nāli*, one *uri* and one *āḷakku* of mixed paddy (*paṇi-nellu*)". This translation requires alteration in some respects. Firstly, there is no word in the text for 'for boiling': perhaps it is the rendering of '*pōṇagam*'. We may state that '*pōṇaga-paḷa-nellu*' means 'old paddy for food'. Its definition is afforded in '*pōṇagam-ṇṇaḍu tāṇ-uḡand-uṇṇal*', where '*pōṇagam*' means 'food'. The word occurs in many inscriptions in none of which the sense of 'for boiling' could be obtained. Secondly, the words '*vai-paṇi-aga*' is omitted in the translation; but '*paṇi-nellu*' has been rendered into 'mixed paddy'. '*Vai-paṇi-aga*' and '*paṇi-nellu*' have to be taken to mean "to make it full or fully measured" and "the full (quantity) of paddy". Thus, from the very passage, we can understand that the quantity of paddy with '*vāsi*' really amounts to the required measure; and the excess represents the total difference between the quantity as measured by the standard State measure (which would be called the *kōyil* measure) in which the payment had to be made and the quantity as measured by the measure in use in the market.

The terms *oru-pū* and *iru-pū* are still in use in some parts of the Tamil and Malayālam countries where they denote 'single and double crops'. With *pādi-vāram*, compare *mēlvāram* and *pādi-pādu*.

Text.

- 1 ஹரி: [II] நன்றாக [II\*] குருவெ துணை [II\*]
- 2 சகாத்தம் கதகாஸ்யு சென்ற கற்-
- 3 கடக வியாழம் நின்ற கொல்லம்
- 4 கூாஉயி [கூ] ஹு தைமீ கவ வியாழவா-
- 5 முசயும் பூயவும் அபரபட்சத்து தித்கயும்
- 6 கெற் [த்த] பகரணவும் விழ்கம்பரித்ய-
- 7 யொகவும் இந்நாளால் இரணியசி-
- 8 ங்கநல்லூர் தெசத்து கிழ்த்தெருவில்
- 9 கெட்டுமாறி ஆடும் பெருமாள் பிச்சப்பிள்ளை
- 10 மூப்பனாரென் ஷெதெருவில் பிள்ளையார்
- 11 கொவிலில் மகாதெவர்க்கும் பிள்ள-
- 12 யார்க்கும் ஷெகொவில் கிண[ற்]றில் வெள்-
- 13 ளம் பகல் நய நாழிகயும் வெள்ளம் இ-
- 14 றச்ச விடவும் நந்தாவனப் பணிநீடை
- 15 பாத்து மகாதெவர்க்கும் பிள்ளையார்க்கும்
- 16 தினசரி உ கட்டிமாலை கெட்டிவைக்கிற
- 17 பண்டாரத்துக்கும் துவாதெசி ஊட்டு-
- 18 க்கும் திருவிளக்குக்கும் பிறதொழத்துக்கும்(க்)
- 19 கல்லுவெட்டி நாட்டுகையில் இதுக்கு விட்ட
- 20 வக [II] கூாஉயி ஹு பைங்குனி-மீம் கவ பண்-
- 21 டாரக்காரியம் செய்வார்க[ளொடு ஷெய]-
- 22 ான் கதகாஸ்யு பணத்துக்கு உ[ரு ஓ]-
- 23 [ற்றி]யாக வெண்டின நிலம் தலைக்குளத்து [தி]-
- 24 [ரு]விதாங்கொட்டு குளத்தின்கீழ் வலி-
- 25 யகுண்டறை தடி க-ம் யஉ-குறுணிக்கு [II\*] எல்லை-
- 26 க செறியக[ல்ல]றைக்கு கண்ணபி[ளயறை]-
- 27 க்கு மடத்தடிபறம்புக் கும் குளத்தடிக்கும் கு-
- 28 ளத்தடிக்கும் செறிய குண்டறைக்கும் நடுவி-
- 29 ல் கிடந்ந வலிய குண்டறை தடி க-ம் யஉ-
- 30 குறுணியும் [II] கூாயஉ-ஹு மாசியீ உயௌவ பண்-
- 31 டாரக்காரியம் செய்வார்க[ளொடு ஷெ-
- 32 யான் சாருய பணத்துக்கு உரு ஓ[ற்]றி வெ-
- 33 ண்டின நிலம் கடியபட்டணத்து பெரிய-
- 34 குளத்தின்கீழ் பூவாருடிபற்றில் நரியன்-
- 35 பொற்றை தடி க-ம் ச-குறுணிக்கு எல்கை பிள-
- 36 யறைக்கும் கவாத்தலைக்கும் பண்டாரவசலு-
- 37 க்கும் நரியன்பொற்றைக்கும் நடுவில் கிடந்ந ந-
- 38 ரியன்பொற்றை தடி க-ம் ச-குறுணியும் [II\*] கூாயஉ-
- 39 ஹு மாசியீ உௌவ பண்டாரக்காரியம்
- 40 செய்வார்க[ளொடு ஷெயான் நூநயஉ

- 41 பணத்துக்கு உறா ஒ[ற்\*]றி வெண்டின நிலம் கடி-  
 42 பட்டணத்து பெரியகுளத்தின்கீழ் பூவாகு-  
 43 டிப்ப[ற்\*]றில் நாக்கலம்பாடு தடி க-ம் ந-குறுணிக்கு  
 44 எல்கை ஆறடிக்கும் நீர்பொகுங்காலுக்கும்  
 45 ஷை நீர்பொகும் காலுக்கும் மறுமுறிநாற்-  
 46 கலம்பாட்டுக்கும் நடுவில் கிடந்ந நாக்க-  
 47 லம்பாடு தடி க-ம் ந-குறுணியும் [11\*] கூாயகவரு தை  
 48 மீர் சவ பண்டாரக்காரியஞ் செய்வ-  
 49 ரார்களொடு ஷையான் நாடு பணத்துக்கும் உ-  
 50 ரா ஒ[ற்\*]றி வெண்டின நிலம் ஞாறைகொடு  
 51 இலஞ்சுளத்தாலும் சனிகுளியாலு[ற்\*]  
 52 வெம்படி தடி க ந-குறுணிக்கு எல்கை நெ-  
 53 டுங்கண்ணிலும் கன்ம . .  
 54 x x x x

*Second face.*

- 55 நிலத்திலும் நடு-  
 56 வில் கிடந்ந வெம்-  
 57 படி தடி க ந-குறுணி [11\*]  
 58 தலைக்குளத்து நா-  
 59 ராயணன் அழ-  
 60 கனெடு நாஞ்-  
 61 சினாட்டு பூதப்-  
 62 பாண்டி அணை-  
 63 ஞ்சபெருமாள் அாக-  
 64 ய-வரு [அற்]பசிமீர்  
 65 ம் நவ உறா ஒ[ற்\*]-  
 66 றிக்குக் [ெ]காண்-  
 67 ட நிலத்துக்கும் கூாவரு  
 68 அற்பசி மீர் ய-  
 69 வ ஷையான் சொ-  
 70 ரா ஒற்றிக்கு கொ-  
 71 ண்டுடைய வ-  
 72 ண்ணமெ வ[கை]-  
 73 யொலை சென்-  
 74 பன் நிலம் தலைக்கு-  
 75 ளத்தின்கீழ் நல-  
 76 ப்பாறைமட[த்தா]-  
 77 லும் அயங்கல-  
 78 ம்பாட்டு . .  
 79 யாலும் அர-  
 80 வான் தடி க-ம் கூ-  
 81 குறுணிக்கும் எல்கை  
 82 இருகலம்பாட்.  
 83 டிக்கும் பரமத்தரு  
 84 வாளுக்கும் பூங்க-  
 85 ந்துடவலுக்கும்

- 86 கொம்பன் வா-  
 87 ய்க்காலுக்கும் கூத்த-  
 88 க்காலுக்கும் நடு-  
 89 வில்க் கிடந்ந ஆர-  
 90 வாள் தடி க-ம் கூ-  
 91 குறுணியும் [11\*] ஆசெந்தி-  
 92 ரதாரமெ தநந-  
 93 திப்பிறதெச-  
 94 மெ ஆ தடி நு-  
 95 னை நில்ம் நு-கலம் ம-  
 96 நு-குறுணிக்கும் ஆ அற்த்த-  
 97 ம் பணம் நுதச-  
 98 ாஉய்குக்கு உள்-  
 99 ள உறு ஒ[ம்]றி ஒலை  
 100 ச-ம் சொரா ஒ[ம்]றி  
 101 ஒலை க-ம் ஆ க-  
 102 ரணம் நு-ம் [11\*] இ-  
 103 ந்த வகை நாள்  
 104 க-க்கு உ நு . .  
 105 ஆ மீம் க-க்கு உ  
 106 . . குறுணி நு-நாழி  
 \* \* \* \*

*Third face.*

- 107 மாசம் க-க்கு அரி குத்தப்பாடு உ குறுணி நு-நாழியும் [11\*]  
 108 நெல் க-கலத்துக்கு அரி எ குறுணி நு-நாழி [11\*] நாள் க-க்கு  
 109 மகாதெவர்க்கு பூசைக்கு அரி நாஉழக்கும்  
 110 பிள்ளையார் பூசைக்கு நாள் க-க்கு அரி நா உ-  
 111 முக்கு பூசைக்கு வைச்ச நெதிச்ச நம்-  
 112 பியான்குறு உரி அரிச்சொறு எடுத்த-  
 113 னுக்கொண்டு செழும் சொறு இருநா-  
 114 ழி[யி\*]ல் கல்லுத்தொட்டியில் வெள்ளம்  
 115 இறச்ச விடுகிற ஆளுக்கு நாழி அரிச்சொ-  
 116 றும் நந்தாவனபணிவுடை பாத்து மாலை நெ-  
 117 கட்டிவைக்கிற பண்டாரத்துக்கு நாழி அரிச்-  
 118 சொறும் இந்தப்படி குடுப்பாராகவும் [11\*] நாள்  
 119 க-க்கு மகாதெவர்க்கும் பிள்ளையார்க்கும் பூசை-  
 120 சக்கும் திருவிளக்குக்கு எண்ணெய்க்கும் உ நா உ-  
 121 ரி ஆ மீம் க-க்கு உ ச-குறுணி நு-நாழியும் [11\*] துவாதெசி  
 122 ணட்டுக்கு மீம் க-க்கு துவாதெசி உ-க்கு ஆள்  
 123 மெ-க்கு மீம் க-க்கு உ கூ-குறுணி ஆ நடத்திவருவா-  
 123 ராகவும் [11\*] ஆ வக எ-க்கு பூவு க-க்கு கடமயும் பதிவும் னு  
 124 சிலவுகண்ட உ ம-கலம் மெ- குறுணியும் [11\*] வலிய குண்-  
 125 டறை தடி க-ம் மெ-குறுணிக்கு பூவு க-க்கு கடமயும்  
 126 வாசியும் உ க- கலம் மெ-குறுணி ச-நாழியும் [11\*] நரியன்பொத்-  
 127 தை தடி க-ம் ச-குறுணிக்கு பூவு க-க்கு கடம் உ மெ-குறுணியும்  
 128 டை நிலத்துக்கு னு க-க்கு பதிவு பணம் கஇ உ-மாவும் [11\*] நா-

- 129 க்கலம்பாடு தடி க ஈ-குறுணிக்கு பூவு க-க்கு கடம  
 130 ஐ அ குறுணி உ-நாழி உரியும் ஸை நிலத்துக்கு ஸை க-க்கு பதிவு  
 131 பணம் க ச-மாவும் [11\*] மெம்படி தடி க-ம் ஈ-குறுணிக்கு பூவு  
 132 க-க்கு கடம் ஐ ஈ-குறுணி உ-நாழி உரியும் [11\*] அரவாள் தடி  
 133 க-ம் ஈ-குறுணிக்கு பூவு க-க்கு கடம் ஐ ஐ-குறுணியும் ஸை  
 134 நிலத்துக்கு ஸை க-க்கு பதிவு பணம் உவ ஈ-மாவும் [11\*]  
 135 ஆ வக ஈ-னால் பூவு க-க்கு கடம் ஐ ச-கலம் உ-குறுணி கூ-நாழி-  
 136 யும் ஸை க-க்கு பதிவு பணம் ஈ ச-மாவும் [11\*] இந்நிலத்தில பா-  
 137 ட்டக்கொட்டை பாதிவாரத்தில் ஸை பூவுக்கு மு-  
 138 தல் ஐ ஐ-கலம் ஐ-குறுணி இந்நெல் பதிங்கலனெ  
 139 பந்திரு குறுணியும் இந்த வகைப்படி நடத்தி-  
 140 க்கொள்ளுவாராகவும் [11\*] துவாதெசி ஊட்டுக்கு  
 141 மீம் க-க்கு பயறு உ-நாழி ஆ ஸை க-க்கு பயறு உ-குறுணி ச-நாழி-  
 142 க்கு குண்டறை நிலத்துக்கு பூவு க-க்கு கங்நாணி  
 143 பயறு குறுணியும் நரியன்பொற்றை நிலத்துக்கு பூவு க-  
 144 க்கு பயறு ஈ-நாழியும் நாக்கலம்பாட்டுக்கு பூவு க-  
 145 க்கு பயறு ஈ-நாழியும் வெம்படி நிலத்துக்கு பூவு க-க்கு  
 146 பயறு ச-நாழியும் அரவாள் நிலத்துக்கு பூவு க-க்கு பய-  
 147 று கூ-நாழியும் ஆ பூவு க-க்கு கங்நாணி பயறு  
 148 ஈ-குறுணியும் உழவன்வசம் வெண்டி துவாதெசி  
 149 ஊட்டுக்கு குடுத்து நடத்துவாராகவும் [11\*] மகாதெ-  
 150 வர்க்கும் பிள்ளையார்க்கும் பிறதொழத்துக்கு ம-  
 151 ராதம் க-க்கு பிறதொழம் உ-க்கு அவுழெககட்ட  
 152 னைக்கு மாதம் க-க்கு ஐ உ-குறுணி ஆ பூவு க-க்கு ஐ ஐ-குறுணி  
 153 க்கு [11\*] வக குண்டறை உள்ளிட்ட தடி ஈ-னால் நிலம்  
 154 ஈ-கலம் ஐ ஈ குறுணியில் மாராய பஸை உழவன்வசம் [11\*]  
 155 வெண்டி பிறதொழத்துக்கு அவுழெகம் ந-  
 156 டத்துவாராகவும் [11\*] மாறியாடும்பெருமாள்  
 157 பிச்சைப்பிள்ளை மூப்பனர்  
 158 இந்தப்படி நடத்திவரவெ அதி . . . .

\* \* \* \*

#### Fourth face.

- 159 கண்ட ஐ செழ-  
 160 காறன் எடு[த\*]துக்-  
 161 கொள்ளுவாரா-  
 162 கவும் [11\*] குறையக்க-  
 163 ண்டால் செழக-  
 164 ராறன் ஐ கூட்டி கு-  
 165 டெத்து நடத்திக்கெ-  
 166 காள்ளுவாராக-  
 167 வும் [11\*] இந்த தற்ம்மக  
 168 ரரியம் முடங்கா-  
 169 மல் நடத்திவரு-  
 170 கிற ஆளுக்கு சிவ-  
 171 னுடய பாதார-

- 172 கெதியும் மொ-  
 173 ட்சவும் உண்டா-  
 174 கவும் [11\*] இந்தப்படி  
 175 நடத்திவரவெ செ-  
 176 செழுகாறன் விச-  
 177 ரரியாம விரிக்கும்  
 178 ஊரிவிருந் தும்  
 179 காவிவிருந்-  
 180 தும் செழுகாரனை  
 181 க்கொண்டு ந-  
 182 டத்திவிச்சுகொ-  
 183 ள்ளுவாராகவும் [11\*]  
 184 இந்தப்படி நடந்-  
 185 துவரவெ இந்த  
 186 தற்றம் காரியத் து-  
 187 க்கு இயாவனெரு-  
 188 வன் அருதம் நி-  
 189 னைக்கில் கெங்ை-  
 190 கக் கரையில் கா-  
 191 ராம்பசுவை செ-  
 192 கான்ற தொழத்-  
 193 தை கைய்யெற்-  
 194 று கொள்ளுவ-  
 195 ராகவும் [11] ஸுஹ-  
 196 ஸு [11\*] சிவன்(த்) துணை [11\*]

Translation.

Hari ! Be it well ! May the *guru* help !

On the 1st day of Tai in the Kollam year 929, when Jupiter was in Karkataka and Śaka 1675 had expired, and which corresponded to a Thursday, Pushya, third *tithi* of the second fortnight, Gardabhakarāṇa and Vishkambha-nityayōga, when I, Keṭṭumāri-āḍum-Perumāḷ Pichchaippillai-Mūppaṇār, (living) in Kīlatteru (i. e. the eastern street) of Raṇasiṅganallūr-dēsam, set up a stone, engraving on it (a grant) providing for the baling of water throughout the 30 *nāḷigai* of day from the well of the Pillaiyār temple to the (stone trough in the shrines of the) Mahādēva and Pillaiyār in the temple of Pillaiyār (erected) in the said street; for paying the *paṇḍāram* who knits 2 garlands each day and gives them to the Mahādēva and Pillaiyār and supervises the work in the flower-garden; for the feeding (to be conducted) on the *dvādasi* days; for sacred lamps; and for the expenses of the *pradōsha*.

On the 1st day of Paṅguṇi in the year 920, the above (mentioned) individual gave to the persons managing (the temple) treasury 1679 *paṇam* and required to obtain on mortgage the land called Valiya-Kuṇḍarai, 1 *taḍi* (in extent),

(having the sowing capacity of) 12 *kuruni* (of seed), irrigated by the tank of Tiruvidāṅkōḍu in Talaikkulam. This land called Valiya-Kunḍarai, 1 *taḍi* and 12 *kuruni* (in extent), lies in the middle of the boundaries Śerīya-Kallarai, Kaṇṇapilaiyarai, Maḍattadi-pārambu, Kuḷattadi and Śerīya-Kunḍarai.

On the 27th day of Māsi in the Kollam year 912, the above (mentioned) individual gave to the managers of the (temple) treasury 450 *paṇam* and required to obtain on mortgage the land called Nariyaṇporrai, (measuring) 1 *taḍi* (in extent) and (having the sowing capacity of) 4 *kuruni* of seed, in Pūvākuḍiparru under the tank of Kaḍigaipattiṇam. This land of Nariyaṇporrai, 1 *taḍi* and 4 *kuruni* (in extent), lies in the middle of the boundaries Piḷayarai, Kavāttalai, Paṇḍārayal and Nariyaṇporrai.

On the 27th day of the month of Māsi in the year 912, the above (mentioned) individual gave 332 *paṇam* to the managers of the (temple) treasury and required to obtain on mortgage the land called Nākkalampāḍu, (measuring) 1 *taḍi* (in extent) and (having the sowing capacity of) 3 *kuruni* (of seed) in Pūvākuḍiparru, irrigated by the Periyakulam tank of Kaḍigaipattiṇam. This land of Nākkalampāḍu, 1 *taḍi* and 3 *kuruni* (in extent), lies in the middle of the boundaries Araḍi, the irrigation channel and Naṇumuru-Nākkalampāḍu.

On the 4th day of the month of Tai in the year 911, the above (mentioned) individual gave 305 *paṇam* to the managers of the (temple) treasury and required to obtain on mortgage the land called Vēmbaḍi, (measuring) 1 *taḍi* (in extent) and (having the sowing capacity of) 3 *kuruni* (of seed), comprised in Ilaṇi-kulam Śaṇikuḷi. This land of Vēmbaḍi, 1 *taḍi* and 3 *kuruni* (in extent), lies in the middle of the boundaries Nēduṅgaṇ ....

The land called Aravāl (measuring) 1 *taḍi* (in extent) and having the sowing capacity of) 6 *kuruni*, comprised in Malappārai-maḍam and Aiyṅgalampāḍu and irrigated by the tank of Talaikkulam, belonging to Vagaiyōlai-Sembaṇ and obtained on mortgage on the 12th day of the month of Arpaṣi in the year 900 by Nārāyaṇaṇ Aḷagaṇ of Talaikkulam and Anaiṇjaperumāl of Pūdappaṇḍi in Nāñji-nāḍu, on the same terms of the mortgage dated the 3rd day of the month of Arpaṣi in the year 860. This land of Aravāl, 1 *taḍi* and 6 *kuruni* (in extent), lies in the middle of the boundaries Irukampāḍu, Paramattaruval, Pūṅgantuḍaval, Kombāṇ-vāykkāl and Kūttakkāl.

Thus, in all, the lands (measuring) 5 *taḍi* (in extent) (and having the sowing capacity of) 3 *kalam* and 13 *kuruni* (of seed) and the money 3426 *paṇam* with 5 mortgage deeds in all,— 4 for the latter and one other mortgage,— had to be held generation after generation, as long as the moon and the stars exist.

From these items, the expenses to be met are:—5 . . . of paddy per day, working out to . . . *kuruni* and 5 *nāḷi* per month; and the monthly requirements for husking paddy come to 1 *kuruni* and 5 *nāḷi* of paddy, a year.

From the rice obtained annually at the rate of 7 *kuruni* and 5 *nāḷi* for every *kalam* of paddy, shall be met the expenses of 1 *nāḷi* and (one) *uḷakku* of rice required for conducting the worship of the Mahādēva; (one) *nāḷi* and (one) *uḷakku*

of rice required for the worship of the Pillaiyār. After offering the rice in worship, the Nambiyāṇ reserve for his share the food prepared from (one) *uri* of rice. From the rest of the food, i. e. that prepared out of 2 *nāḷi* of rice, (one) *nāḷi* of rice-food shall be given to the person who bales water into the stone trough and (one) *nāḷi* of rice-food to the *paṇḍūram* who supervises the work of the flower-garden and makes garlands (to the gods).

At (one) *nāḷi* and (one) *uri* of paddy for the oil required for sacred lamps during the worship of the Mahādēva and Pillaiyār, the monthly expenses come to 4 *kurūṇi* and 5 *nāḷi* of paddy.

For feeding 12 persons on the 2 *dvādāsīs* of each month, the expenses come to 6 *kurūṇi* of paddy. And the total annual requirements for the seven items of expenses are derived from the *kaḍamai* and *paḍivu*, payable in each harvest, on the lands mentioned above and they amount to 10 *kalam* and 12 *kurūṇi* of paddy. This is made up as follows:—

For Valiya-Kuṇḍarai, 1 *taḍi* 12 *kurūṇi* (in extent), the *kaḍamai* and *vāśi* for each harvest is 1 *kalam*, 11 *kurūṇi* and 4 *nāḷi* of paddy.

For Nariyaṇporrai, 1 *taḍi* and 4 *kurūṇi* (in extent), the *kaḍamai* for each harvest is 11 *kurūṇi* of paddy; the *paḍivu* on the same land for the year is  $1\frac{1}{2}$  *paṇam* and 2/20ths.

For Nākkalampāḍu, 1 *taḍi* and 3 *kurūṇi* (in extent), the *kaḍamai* for each harvest is 8 *kurūṇi*, 2 *nāḷi* and 1 *uri* of paddy; for this land the *paḍivu* for the year is 1 *paṇam* and 4/20ths.

For Vēmbaḍi, 1 *taḍi* and 3 *kurūṇi* (in extent) the *kaḍamai* is 5 *kurūṇi*, 2 *nāḷi* and 1 *uri* of paddy.

For Aravāl, 1 *taḍi* and 6 *kurūṇi* (in extent), the *kaḍamai* for each harvest is 12 *kurūṇi* of paddy; the *paḍivu* on the same land for the year is  $2\frac{1}{4}$  *paṇam* and 3/20ths.

Thus, for the 5 items, the *kaḍamai* for each harvest is 4 *kalam*, 2 *kurūṇi* and 9 *nāḷi* of paddy; and the *paḍivu* for the year is 5 *paṇam* and 4/20ths.

The items of expenses (detailed above) shall be met from proprietor's share (*paḍivāram*) of the *pāṭṭam* on the said lands, viz. 10 *kalam* and 12 *kurūṇi*, ten *kalam* and twelve *kurūṇi* of paddy, realizable at the harvest time of each year.

For the yearly requirements of 2 *kurūṇi* and 4 *nāḷi* of green pulse, calculated at the rate of 2 *nāḷi* of green pulse for each month, the sources of income are:—

1 *kurūṇi* of *kaṇḡāṇi*-green pulse for each harvest on the land called Kuṇḍarai;

5 *nāḷi* of green pulse for each harvest on the land called Nariyaṇporrai;

5 *nāḷi* of green pulse for each harvest on the land called Nākkalampāḍu;

4 *nāḷi* of green pulse for each harvest on the land called Vēmbaḍi;

6 *nāḷi* of green pulse for each harvest on the land called Aravāl;

making in all 3 *kurūṇi* of *kaṇḡāṇi* green pulse for each harvest. This quantity shall be received from the cultivators and given for conducting the *dvā-dāśi* feeding.



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For the *pradōsha* expenses,— *i. e.* for conducting the bathing ceremony on the two *pradōsha* days of each month,— of the gods Mahādēva and Pillaiyār, calculated at the rate of 2 *kurūni* of paddy for each month the quantity required in each harvest is 12 *kurūni* of paddy.

Receiving from the cultivators of the lands comprised in the five items of Kuṇḍarai and others (having the sowing capacity of) 3 *kalam* and 13 *kurūni* (of paddy), the bathing of the gods on the *pradōsha* days shall be conducted. While Māṅiyādum-Perumāḷ-Mūppañār is conducting the expenses in this manner, . . . . the excess paddy found shall be taken by his nephew; and if paddy be found wanting the nephew shall make good it and conduct the expenses.

May the person who conducts this charitable act, without any default, attain the feet of Śiva and secure freedom (from births). If while this charity is being conducted (in the said manner), if the nephew fails to enquire into it, the people of the village and the temple shall enforce him to do it. While it is being done in this manner, if any one entertains bad intentions against the charitable act, he shall incur the sin of killing tawny cows on the banks of the Ganges.

Be it well ! May Śiva help !

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*ch.* = chief; *co.* = country; *di.* = district or division; *do.* = ditto; *dy.* = dynasty; *E.* = Eastern; *f.* = female; *k.* = king; *m.* = male; *mo.* = mountains; *myth.* = mythical; *ri.* = river; *s. a.* = same as; *sur.* = surname; *te.* = temple; *vi.* = village or town; *w.* = western.

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